



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Title	Scots and Scottish English : sociolinguistics and education in Glasgow and Edinburgh
Author	Steele, Laura June
Qualification	PhD
Year	1998

Thesis scanned from best copy available: may contain faint or blurred text, and/or cropped or missing pages.

Digitisation Notes:

- Page 58 and 59 missing in original numeration

SCOTS AND SCOTTISH ENGLISH:

Sociolinguistics and education in Glasgow and Edinburgh

LAURA JUNE STEELE

Ph.D

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1998



This thesis is my own work.

LAURA STEELE

22.6.98

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

No. of words: 90,000

The thesis describes, in the first instance, a sociolinguistic investigation of the speech of people of Edinburgh and Glasgow. This entails describing research carried out in the two cities with census-matched informants who were tape-recorded as they answered a questionnaire presented to them as informally as conditions allowed. This questionnaire asked about all linguistic aspects of spoken language (eg., phonology, syntax) and about informants' attitudes towards their own language use and their perceptions of the language spoken in Lowland Scotland. Broadly speaking, this resulted in the discovery that Scots-dialect linguistic forms are a feature of the speech of almost all natives of Glasgow and Edinburgh regardless of socio-economic status, age and gender. These kinds of non-linguistic social factors do, however, account for the range of, and extent to which Scots-dialect forms are used, as well as informants' attitudes towards spoken Scots and, indeed, perceptions of Scots as an entity separate from Scottish English.

The latter part of this thesis describes an investigation into the official attitude of, and stance taken by the people responsible for educating children in Glasgow and Edinburgh. There is, therefore, a full account of research undertaken with a sample of teachers and educational advisors in Glasgow and Edinburgh, as well as a member of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education in Scotland. The results obtained for this section of the study generally show that while the SOED's recent guidelines on language use promote increased teaching of Scots-dialect literature and encourage teachers to value the "language pupils bring to school", there is a great deal of confusion for teachers and, indeed, advisors as to what is Scots, what is English, what is acceptable in the formal school environment and what is not. At present there is no comprehensive training for teachers on the teaching of Scots-dialect literature or the nature of spoken Scots as opposed to Scottish English, yet teachers are expected to include these topics in their curricula. As the advisors and the member of the Inspectorate also had no clear idea about the distinction between Scots and Scottish English or how exactly to go about teaching Scottish language and literature, and none of them had received any formal training on Scots it seems hardly surprising that notions of "good" and "bad" are still applied to linguistic behaviour: the present study found that despite the good intentions of the 5-14 Report, perceptions of language being a qualitative concept are still being perpetuated by educators who are ignorant of the complex language situation in Lowland Scotland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For my dad, GTS...

Big thanks to my supervisors, Charles Jones and particularly Anne King who has tolerated and humoured me over the years, given endless encouragement and tried to introduce me to kultyer - its a losing battle! Thanks also to Derek Britton for helping me when it really was beyond the call, Graeme Trousdale, Morvyth Laidlaw and Jim Miller for being nice to me.

It is also important to mention The Carnegie Trust for Scotland, which paid my fees in the third year, and the admin staff at Johnstone High School for computers, printers and photocopying.

Very special thanks to my family: Julia, Graham and Tony for letting me stay at their house when I needed to, and along with Paula and Malky (and wee Derek, though he wasn't really around for most of it), thanks for the positive thinking and encouragement when I felt out of my depth. Thanks also to Melissa for doing some typing and not ever letting me take all this too seriously - though honestly, some people do think this kind of stuff is interesting. Also to my mum, for her support and kindness. Thanks go to Brian too, as always.

I'd also like to thank all the people who helped me find informants, especially Joe and Moira McKee, Grace Conway and Neil Lovatt, Mark King and Graeme Scott.

The biggest debt for all this is to my dad, without whom I would not have been able to start, continue or complete. Thankyou for the input financially and otherwise, and for all your help, encouragement and support.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.V.	Black English Vernacular
C.S.D.	<i>Concise Scots Dictionary</i>
D.O.S.T.	<i>Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue</i>
E.S.E.	English Standard English
E.Sc.	Early Scots
G.V.S.	Great Vowel Shift
H.M.I.	Her Majesty's Inspector
L.A.S.	<i>Linguistic Atlas of Scotland</i>
[ɪ]-VOC	[ɪ]-vocalisation
M.E.	Middle English
M.E.O.S.L.	Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening
Mod.Sc.	Modern Scots
M.Sc.	Middle Scots
O.E.	Old English
P.L.Sc.	Pre-Literary Scots
R.L.S.	Robert Louis Stevenson
R.P.	Received Pronunciation
S.C.C.C.	Scottish Consultative Committee on the Curriculum
S.C.E.	Scottish Certificate of Education
S.E.B.	Scottish Examination Board
S.E.D.	Scottish Education Department
S.F.C.L.	Syllable Final Consonant Loss
S.G.	Social Group
S.L.P.	Scottish Language Project
S.L.P.P.	<i>Scottish Language Project Proposals</i>
S.L.R.C.	Scots Language Resource Centre
S.N.D.	<i>Scottish National Dictionary</i>
S.N.D.A.	Scottish National Dictionary Association
S.O.E.D.	Scottish Office Education Department
S.S.E.	Scottish 'Standard' English
Sth.S.E.	Southern 'Standard' English
S.V.L.R.	Scottish Vowel Length Rule
S.Y.S.	Sixth Year Studies
[v]-DEL	[v]-deletion
W.I.S.C.	Wechsler Intelligence Scale for English

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

pp.1-59

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE PRESENT STUDY

- 1.1 AIMS AND OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT STUDY
- 1.2 STANDARD AND NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE
- 1.3 STYLISTIC VARIATION
- 1.4 METHODOLOGY REFINEMENTS
 - 1.4.1 Labov, Blom & Gumperz, and Reid
 - 1.4.2 Social Networks, L.Milroy, and Cheshire
 - 1.4.3 Group Membership: Potential Drawbacks
- 1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN LOWLAND
SCOTLAND - ADDITIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES
- 1.6 METHODOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF NON-STANDARD
LEXICAL LOSS
 - 1.6.1 Stereotypes and Lexical Obsolescence
 - 1.6.2 Lexical Loss and the Sociolinguistic Study
 - 1.6.3 The Present Study
- 1.7 SELECTING INFORMANTS
 - 1.7.1 Age Groups
 - 1.7.2 Social Class
 - 1.7.3 Gender
- 1.8 IDENTITY AND STEREOTYPING
 - 1.8.1 Subjective Evaluation
 - 1.8.2 Perpetuation of Stereotypes

CHAPTER TWO

pp.60-126

THE COMMUNITY SAMPLE:

THE QUESTIONNAIRE, RESPONSES AND RESULTS

- 2 INTRODUCTION
 - 2.1 SCOTS
 - 2.1.1 A Definition
 - 2.1.2 The Development of Scots
 - 2.1.3 The Decline of Scots
 - 2.1.4 The Situation Today
 - 2.2 THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SCOTLAND
 - 2.2.1 An Overview
 - 2.2.2 Scottish 'Standard' English
 - 2.2.3 Hypercorrect Varieties of Scottish
'Standard' English

- 2.3 LANGUAGE AS AN IDENTITY MARKER IN SCOTLAND
- 2.4 EDUCATION AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN SCOTLAND

CHAPTER THREE

pp.127-146

SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH: PRELIMINARIES

- 3.1 THE INFORMANTS AND SELECTION PROCEDURE
- 3.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE
 - 3.2.1 Purposes of the Community Sample Questionnaire
 - 3.2.2 Establishing Informality and Conversation
 - 3.2.3 Probing Questions

CHAPTER FOUR

pp.147-203

LANGUAGE USE IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH: ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

- 4 INTRODUCTION
 - 4.1 ESTABLISHING GROUP IDENTITY
 - 4.2 EXISTENCE AND AWARENESS OF STYLISTIC VARIATION
 - 4.3 EXISTENCE AND AWARENESS OF THE SOCIAL VARIATION OF LANGUAGE USE
 - 4.4 EDUCATION
 - 4.4.1 Correction of Speech as a Child
 - 4.4.2 Experience of English and Scots Teaching in School
 - 4.4.3 Spelling
 - 4.4.4 Oral Communication
 - 4.5 AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE LANGUAGES OF SCOTLAND
 - 4.5.1 The Languages of Scotland
 - 4.5.2 Familiarity with Scottish Literature

CHAPTER FIVE pp.204-347

LEXIS, PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

5 LEXIS PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

5.1 LEXICAL USAGE

5.1.1 *Gaed, Rance, Bauks, Slag*

5.1.2 *Chum, Siver/Stank, Skelf/Spail, Ken*

5.1.3 *Buroo, Bachle, Close, Skliff, Feart*

5.1.4 *Check, Clyde, Greet, Keek, Sore head, Coup*

5.1.5 *Swither, Haar*

5.1.5 Summary of Results for Lexical Usage

5.2 SCOTS PRONUNCIATION

5.2.1 *Hame/Home, Hoose/House, Boax/Box, Aw/All*

5.2.2 *Efter/After, Fit/Foot, Gie/Give, Heid/Head*

5.2.3 *Stawn/Stand, Watter/Water, Haunil/Handle*

5.2.4 *Blin/Blind*

5.2.5 Summary of Results for Pronunciation

5.2.6 Reliability of Reporting

5.3 SCOTS GRAMMAR

5.3.1 *He went to the park*

5.3.2 *I never had enough money to pay the bill on Tuesday*

5.3.3 *What like was she at the singing?*

5.3.4 *The Day/Today*

5.3.5 *I seen a man that needed his car washed*

5.3.6 *Do you need to go?*

5.3.7 *They cakes was awful dear*

5.3.8 *She got ten pound off of her mother*

5.3.9 *He might could enjoy the party*

5.3.10 *Can I have a biscuit?*

5.3.11 *How did you not go down the shops first?*

5.3.12 *Dinna/Don't*

5.3.13 Summary of Results for Grammar

CHAPTER SIX pp.348-382

SCOTS LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

- 6.1 SCOTS AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION
- 6.2 POLICY ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION 1872 - 1980
- 6.3 SCOTS AND THE TEACHER
- 6.4 THE 5-14 REPORT
- 6.5 THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE PROJECT

CHAPTER SEVEN pp.383-435

A SURVEY OF SCOTS IN EDUCATION: THE QUESTIONNAIRE, RESPONSES AND RESULTS

- 7.1 THE STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE IN SCOTLAND
 - 7.1.1 The questionnaire
 - 7.1.2 The informants
- 7.2 AWARENESS OF SCOTS AND ENGLISH
- 7.3 AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE
- 7.4 THE EFFECT OF THE 5-14 Report on the English Language
- 7.5 SCOTS GRAMMAR
- 7.6 TEACHERS' SUGGESTIONS ABOUT TEACHING SCOTTISH LITERATURE AND TOLERANCE OF SCOTS DIALECTS
- 7.7 CONSULTATION WITH ADVISORS AND AN INSPECTOR FOR THE STUDY OF SCOTS AND EDUCATION
 - 7.7.1 The Informants
 - 7.7.2 The Questions
 - 7.7.3 The Teaching of Scottish Literature
 - 7.7.4 Scots Dialect Speech and its Treatment by Scottish Education

Bibliography pp.436-447

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE PRESENT STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS AND OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The primary aim of the present study is to provide a detailed account of sociolinguistic and stylistic variation in Glasgow and Edinburgh. It will also investigate the Scottish education system's attitude towards the complex linguistic situation in (specifically urban) 'Lowland' Scotland, and ascertain whether or not any provision should be, and is made for pupils with respect to this linguistic situation.

This study will be split into two general sections. The first of these will be an account of sociolinguistic variation in Glasgow and Edinburgh using census-matched informants who were interviewed personally using a detailed questionnaire (selection of informants and the make-up and content of the questionnaire are detailed in Chapter 3). The purposes of this section are:

1. to define 'Scots' as 'opposed to 'English' and give an account of the linguistic situation in Lowland Scotland based on modern linguistic and sociological studies (see Chapter 2);
2. to investigate informants' awareness of and attitudes towards:
 - a) Scots in general,
 - b) Scots dialect use in general,
 - c) their own local dialect (Glasgow or Edinburgh),

whether they be habitual users of this or not,
d) their own speech.

(This part of the research will be discussed fully
in §4.2 and §4.5);

3. to investigate whether or not speech can be, and is perceived as being indicative of qualitative and/or stereotypical concepts (fully discussed in §4.3);
4. to investigate informants' recollections about their experiences of their schools' treatment of Scots (be that Scots speech, the teaching of Scottish literature etc.) (fully discussed in §4.4);
5. to investigate the extent to which informants from Glasgow and Edinburgh know of and use linguistic forms (lexical, phonetic, morphological and syntactic) indigenous to Scots (fully discussed in Chapter 5).

The second general section of this study will be an account of the historic and present-day treatment the Scots language and its various dialects have received from the Scottish education system. This section will consist of three main parts. These are:

1. an account of the Scottish education system's treatment of Scots, both as spoken by pupils and as a taught subject, from 1872 to the present-day (see Chapter 6);
2. a study of ten teachers in Glasgow and Edinburgh

using a questionnaire (fully detailed in §7.1) designed to ask them about the teaching of Scottish literature, about the treatment of Scots dialect as spoken by pupils, and about support and training by the regional and/or national education system on these issues (see §7.1 to §7.6);

3. an account of conversations with two education advisors for Lothian Region and Her Majesty's Staff Inspector for English with regard to the treatment of Scots and provision of training for teachers in Scots (see §7.7).

In order to present a coherent account of the present study, the following brief discussion of relevant sociolinguistic terms and concepts is necessary.

1.2 STANDARD AND NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE

The standard form of a language is that which is deemed to be the official form. In its spoken form it is generally the accent traditionally used in the economic, administrative and political centre for the area in which the language is spoken. It is also the language variety most often used for the written word, and that which is taught to foreign speakers. The media tend to use the standard form of a language almost exclusively (albeit often in a register appropriate for their purposes); hence the accent of English Standard English, Received

Pronunciation (RP), was known for many years as 'BBC' English.

Dialect and non-standard language are two concepts commonly confused. Wells (1982:3) describes dialect as "any speech variety which is more than an idiolect but less than a language". Dialects are linguistically distinct forms of the same language as it is spoken (or, in fact, written) in different geographical areas or by different social groups. The standard variety of a language can be said to be a dialect, so all others are non-standard dialects.

'Non-standard language' is a more general term. It is any language variety or linguistic form which is not 'standard'. This, obviously, includes dialects, but not exclusively. Grammar, phonology, spelling etc. can be non-standard while not necessarily being indicative of dialect. Many non-standard language forms and non-standard dialects (particularly in an urban context) are regarded as being of low prestige. The various reasons for this common presumption are discussed fully in §1.8 below.

Linguistically, one habitually used language variety has no qualitative superiority or inferiority over another. Language, primarily, is a medium for communication. Therefore, if some mutually intelligible communication is

achieved, language, by definition, is achieved also. This achievement is neither good nor bad. Language, however, can be subject to qualitative evaluation, in that notions of 'good' and 'bad' can be imposed on it by a society. Western society generally is socially stratified, and it extends this stratification to apply also to language varieties associated with its different levels (see §1.8).

Sociolinguistics is the study of how language relates to extra-linguistic social forces. It attempts to investigate when, why and in what way society brings about changes in language and linguistic variation in terms of social status. Sociolinguistics attempts to describe linguistic change and social variation as they occur (or occurred, if the study is historical) as a result of social influence. Sociolinguistics also attempts to explain the reasons for and the subsequent effects of these linguistic variations on the people who use the language.

The sociolinguistic investigation must, therefore, describe the language used by a given speech community (i.e., group of speakers who share a set of linguistic norms (Romaine 1982:13-24)) and study the extent to which variation occurs within that speech community in relation to existing social divisions. These divisions are usually comprised of different social classes, different age

groups, and the two genders. Most studies of the social variation of language use (including the present one) have tended to investigate linguistic variation in terms of these three types of social differentiation.

Empirical studies eg., Labov (1972(a),(b)), have pinpointed four general tendencies in the nature of linguistic variation within stratified societies. These are:

1. The higher the social class of the speaker the more his or her language use will tend towards the standard form;
2. The lower the social class of the speaker the more his or her language use will tend to deviate from the standard form;
3. The older a speaker the more antiquated his or her language use, and the younger the more innovative;
4. Women tend more towards the use of standard varieties than men within all social classes and age groups.

These findings are very much generalised and have been convincingly challenged by, for example, L.Milroy (1980), and in order to explain and understand generally these four tendencies we must look at each one individually.

1. The higher the social class of a speaker the more his or her language use will tend towards the standard form

This tendency is recorded innumerable times in sociolinguistic studies eg., those of Trudgill (1972), Reid (1978), Sandred (1983) - the latter two in a Scottish context. The reasons why the higher on the social scale an individual is, the more standardised is his language use, are that the relatively high social status suggested by the use of a standard form is generally acknowledged by society, and one of the benefits of its use includes identification with a group separate from and superior to those of lower social class. The more standard the language variety a person uses, therefore, the more that language use identifies him or her with a higher social rank.

This tendency is not, however, absolute. Despite having outlined the four general sociolinguistic tendencies (as noted previously), Labov (1963) found in his Martha's Vineyard study that social rank was less relevant in determining the type of and reasons for linguistic variation than was identification as an islander. He discovered that the use of the non-standard idiom there was primarily to do with maintaining a separate identity from tourists and mainlanders and actually transcended social class. For the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard their identification of themselves as being of high or

low social status was outweighed by their desire to retain their cultural autonomy in the face of their economic dependence on outsiders.

2. The lower the social class of a speaker the more his or her language use will tend to deviate from the standard form

In general, the standard variety tends to be regarded as the best medium for communication because it is understood by all. Empirical studies (eg., Macaulay (1977), particularly through his Teachers and Employers samples, see §1.8.1 below), have also shown that language use can be seen as an indicator of ability (or lack of it). This must be seen as a great misconception as there is no reason to assume that the use of a non-standard language variety suggests a lack of ability in anything other than use of the standard form (see §2.4). Despite this, the use of a standard variety is considered essential for upward social mobility, the supposed basic aspiration of all.

What sociolinguistics must attempt to explain, then, is why, as Macafee (1987:188) points out, the lowest social groups commonly disregard the standard variety of their language in favour of their non-standard idiom when they "recognize the inherent superiority or at least greater utility of Standard English".

Empirical studies such as those of Labov (1972(a)), (1972(b)), Macaulay (1977), and Cheshire (1982), have suggested that one explanation for this is, again, to be found in the concept of identity. These studies (amongst others) show that the pull from the supposedly more beneficial standard varieties was less strong for the lowest social classes than the attraction towards identification with and membership of the lower social group. In this way identification through speech with a particular group in society, is the driving force behind those of the lowest social status as they retain their use of non-standard varieties of language. (The whole concept of identity is an important factor in linguistic variation and is very complex (see §1.8)).

3. The older a speaker the more antiquated his language use, and the younger the more innovative

This tendency would appear, on first sight to be self explanatory. As language develops some forms become old-fashioned and eventually obsolete (eg., the noun plural *brethren* now used only as a religious term having been replaced in the general language by *brothers*). Other forms are introduced as linguistic innovations (eg., *zoo* first introduced into the language in the early twentieth century as an abbreviation of *zoological garden* and later adopted to mean this inherently). It would seem logical to assume that people of an older age group would use more of the older forms and people of a younger age group

more innovative linguistic forms. Upon investigation, however, this premise presents itself as far more complicated than it would at first appear.

Labov (1966) attempted to witness linguistic change in progress in New York, specifically, the change in use of /r/ in pre-consonantal and syllable-final positions. In this study Labov used an (r - 1) ie., /r/ is pronounced, (r - 0) ie., /r/ is not pronounced, index system. He was aware that prior to the mid twentieth century the prestige form was (r - 0). After World War II, however, the prestige form had, for varying reasons become (r - 1). He did not find that the old prestige form, (r - 0) was used by older members of society and (r - 1), the new prestige form by younger members in a straightforward, linear way. What he did find was that this sound change had become confused by the social situation in New York which resulted in the older members of the middle social classes aspiring to the language use of the younger members of the highest social classes and actually using the new prestige form, (r - 1) more than the younger members of any social class (see §1.4.1 below).

Macafee (1987,1994) also found that linguistic variation in terms of age differentiation is not a straightforward concept, as amongst other evidence, she discovered that some expressions which logically should have become obsolete due to the material change concerning them eg.,

two *bob* meaning two *shillings* (a monetary concept now obsolete), were actually retained by the younger age groups who had adopted it to represent some new concept, in this case 'ten pence', while the older age groups never used it. Macafee, therefore, witnessed the overlap of obsolescence and innovation and further confirmed the contention that linguistic variation in terms of age differentiation is anything but simple.

Also complicating this issue is the fact that words which have at one time been part of both the standard and non-standard forms of a language can become obsolete in one form, but not the other. For example the noun *bairn* is not used in Standard English but is retained in some of the Lowland Scots dialects. In choosing to use the word *bairn* instead of its Standard English equivalent *child*, the Scots-dialect speaker is displaying evidence of synchronic variation within the language of which standard and non-standard forms are both parts (see §1.3). In this way we can see that the sociolinguist must tread very carefully when investigating linguistic variation in terms of age groups and not confuse diachronic change with synchronic variation.

4. Women tend more towards standard forms than men within all social classes and age groups

Empirical studies have shown that women apparently tend to use more standard forms than men and that this is a static characteristic of the social differentiation of language. For example, Labov (1972(a):243) claimed that "in careful speech women use fewer stigmatised forms than men...This observation is confirmed innumerable times", and then went on to cite Fischer (1958) and Levine and Crockett (1967) as agreeing, claiming that "it is clear that women are more sensitive than men to overt sociolinguistic values" (Labov 1972(a):243). A decade later Trudgill was still claiming that "... women consistently use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men" (Trudgill 1983:84-88) and explained this by claiming that women have greater "status-consciousness" ie., women are more aware of and aspire more to the social benefits conferred by the use of standard forms than men. As early as 1975, however, Romaine suggested that this concept might require further investigation. She noted in her findings about the linguistic behaviour of her Edinburgh schoolchildren informants that the females in the youngest age groups in her study used stigmatised forms more often than the males. In addition to this she found that throughout the age groups she investigated there appeared to be no regular pattern of increase or decrease in the amount of non-standard forms

used for both boys and girls, thus showing that for school-children, at least, language differentiation based on gender is far more complex than would be expected on the basis of previous (and subsequent) sociolinguistic studies.

L.Milroy (1980:145-146) examined further the relationship between gender and linguistic variation using Social Networks (see §1.4.2 below). She suggested that linguistic variation is intricately linked to the density of a person's social network ie., local group with home/kin/work links, and the extent of that person's integration into that network. A social network which has several social links eg., home/work/family/leisure, ie., one where "each individual is linked to others in more than one capacity...may be said to be multiplex" L.Milroy (1980:21). She contends that the reason most studies find that women tend more towards standard forms is due to their usually having less integration into less dense networks than men. She explains that this is usually the case due to the fact that traditionally the home/workplace link (ie., working alongside other family members and people with whom one also socialises) is more characteristic of the lives of men in working class communities than it is of women.

L.Milroy, therefore, refutes the notion that the speech of women is more influenced by extra-linguistic social

forces than that of men by claiming that the differences usually found in the speech patterns of the two genders are, in fact, a result of the different roles in society the two genders traditionally play. Her argument is convincingly supported by her findings in the Clonard and Hammer areas of Belfast. In these areas L.Milroy found that it is women who tend more towards non-standard forms rather than men and she contends that this is due to the high level of male unemployment in these areas creating the conditions whereby the women, rather than the men, have the characteristic home/work links. (For a full discussion of L.Milroy's study and Social Networks see §1.4.2).

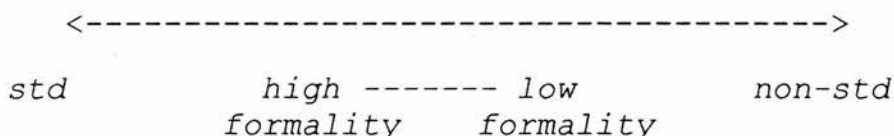
Coates (1993) agrees with L.Milroy about the commonly recorded tendency of males towards non-standard forms and females towards standard forms being the result of the differences between men and women's network density and multiplexity. She extends L.Milroy's argument, however, by claiming that this is not necessarily always connected to differences in the two genders' employment cultures. She cites Thomas (1989) who studied the linguistic habits of a Welsh community and found that linguistic variation based on gender did occur and that it was concerned with network density and integration, but based on membership of and involvement with the local chapel, rather than on employment. Thomas, therefore, found that it was women in this community who used a more non-standard language

variety than men, and this was because it was the women who were more involved in the chapel culture. The multiplex network links, in this case, were primarily home/chapel ie., interacting with people they were related to, socialised with, lived near to and also knew through the chapel, rather than through work (Coates 1993:104).

1.3 STYLISTIC VARIATION

Linguistic variation within speech communities occurs, as shown, on the basis of identification with a social class, gender, age group or some other factor. An individual's choice of lexis, pronunciation etc. is not, however, constant within these constraints. All speakers have available to them differing styles appropriate to differing situations. People can move up and down a speech continuum depending on the formality of the situation they find themselves in. In this way language variation is not polar, being a choice between the standard form and a non-standard form, but is, instead, a selective process along a speech continuum (see Fig. 1).

FIG 1



Not all people have a full command of the standard form of their language, nor do all people have a full command of the most non-standard form. What all people do have is a variable capacity along this continuum. Consequently, in a highly formal situation eg., a one to one job interview, an individual will tend to use his most formal ie., most standard style, and in an informal situation eg., conversing with peers on an everyday subject, will tend to use his least formal ie., most non-standard variety.

This least formal language use is what is known as the true vernacular of the speaker or his most natural language since it is this style which he uses spontaneously and thinks least about when using it ie., he uses it covertly. This would seem to suggest that all non-standard language use is, therefore, covert, but it is also possible to display non-standard speech overtly (ie., consciously choosing non-standard forms over standard ones). The use of overt non-standard forms is usually dependent on one of three criteria. These are explained thus:

1. Aitken (1984(a):107-108) claims that non-standard language use can be overt when it is being used to convey a specific message about either the subject or the speaker eg., a person who habitually uses Scottish Standard English (see §2.2) might use Scots

vocabulary items such as *kirk* and *haar* in order either to identify these concepts as being characteristically Scottish, or to identify himself as being Scottish.

2. Overt non-standard language use can occur when a speaker whose most usual speech is higher on the speech continuum than that of those he is addressing modifies that speech towards the non-standard. This is called 'accommodation'. Macafee (1983:21), in citing Brown and Levinson (1978) uses the term 'positive politeness' for this type of accommodation ie., where the Standard speaker attempts to assimilate his or her speech to that of those being addressed in order to gain their trust. Standard speech can also be 'marked' in this way, and this occurs when a Non-standard speaker consciously uses standard language forms as an act of 'negative politeness' (Macafee 1983:21) to the Standard speaker he is addressing.
3. Overt non-standard speech can occur when a speaker considers his or her membership to a specific ideological group under an apparent threat. Reah (1982:6) documents Bourhis and Giles' (1977) observations of this phenomenon in Wales where some informants "were found to broaden their Welsh accents in response to an apparent attack on a salient dimension of Welsh identity - namely, the Welsh language".

While it is true that, in general, the most common use of non-standard speech occurs as non-standard speakers converse with each other and, as L.Milroy (1980) claims, this use of non-standard language is usually to do with identifying oneself with a local group (see §1.4.2 below), the problem for linguists is how to record this most usual speech. Sociolinguists commonly have regarded the vernacular as spoken by people in their everyday lives as of most interest. As Labov (1972(a)) pointed out, the vernacular is the speech style of most interest to linguists because it is this style which is most often used and best understood by a speaker. Therefore, the study of linguistic variation is most appropriately applied to differences in the vernaculars of people differentiated by extra-linguistic forces.

For many studies the sociolinguist's task is to record the vernacular as this was (and still is for some linguists) thought to be the best way of obtaining information about it. This has been a huge problem for sociolinguistics for decades because observing informants' speech has the unwanted effect of making the informant conscious of his/her speech. This causes an informant to become careful in his/her use of language. Labov (1972(a)) calls this the 'Observer's Paradox' ie., the impossibility of recording informal speech styles because the informant is always aware of the fact that his or her speech is being recorded. Labov intended the

'Observer's Paradox' to apply to the tendency of informants to modify their speech towards the Standard due to the formality of a systematic sociolinguistic investigation. Reah (1982:6), however, points out that an informant's speech is "capable of modification in response to situational requirements not only towards the standard, but also towards the non-standard" for the reasons outlined in Criterion 3. of the overt use of non-standard language. Either way the 'Observer's Paradox' is frustrating in that as Labov (1972(a):209) puts it:

the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.

Methodology designed to overcome this problem has been developed with varying degrees of success over the last thirty years, but we must question Labov's assertion that the only way to obtain information about vernacular speech is to observe it. While it may be the case that true vernacular speech would give the most objective data for analysis, the problems associated with the Observer's Paradox are such that that objectivity is never indisputably realised. The following section describes methodologies which have been used as an attempt to reduce the Observer's Paradox, and examines how successful they have been.

1.4 METHODOLOGY REFINEMENTS

1.4.1 LABOV, BLOM AND GUMPERZ, AND REID

Labov (1966) attempted to record a variety of speech styles in his Martha's Vineyard study by using three different interview techniques. Due to the fact that interviews were involved at all, however, the success of these techniques was limited as interviews are never conducive to 'normal' behaviour (linguistic or otherwise) as the interviewer/interviewee distinction is all too prevalent.

In his Manhattan Department Stores study Labov (1966) intended to collect linguistic data without his informants being aware of it. He asked staff in his chosen stores a question requiring the answer "fourth floor" and then asked them to repeat the answer in order to elicit a second, more emphatic speech style. This, although a highly innovative idea was limited in its general usage as a sociolinguistic research

technique because for a study of this nature the sample of informants has to be completely random. Even though the stores themselves had been graded socially the social status of each individual employee was virtually impossible to define. Inconclusive evidence about the social status of individuals in a sample does not lend

itself to objective analysis and comparison of results. (The importance of representation is discussed in §1.7 below). Also, this technique only allowed for short, fast answers which may be said to be too isolated in context (ie., not part of a fuller rhetoric) to merit their representing general speech.

For his study of stylistic variation as displayed by speakers in the Lower East Side of New York, Labov (1966) further refined his interview methodology. He attempted to illicit vernacular speech by recording his informants when their attention was directed away from the interview situation eg., during breaks and interruptions in the interview, when the perceived observer/observee distinction was at a minimum. Again, however, the interviewer/interviewee distinction cannot be eliminated completely, and even if it is reduced, it can be only for short periods of time which is far from ideal when a linguist requires a recording of enough informal speech upon which to make objective analysis and comment.

In his study of BEV Labov (1972(b)) managed to record a far more informal style than was previously possible by extending the interview technique to include speakers arranged in groups consisting of people who were all familiar to each-other, in this case gang members. Labov was working on the premise that pre-existing norms of

linguistic behaviour are most readily adhered to in the face of an individual's own community. Reah (1982:11), however, argues that an informant may use a speech style lower on the speech continuum than is his most usual one as an affirmation of his membership of and loyalty to the group in the face of an external 'threat'. In this way, Reah claims that:

the presence of recording apparatus and interviewer could in these circumstances provoke a shift even further towards the non-standard.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their Hemnes study also attempted to reduce the Observer's Paradox. They did this by allowing free conversation in group settings. Blom and Gumperz introduced a topic to the group and actively participated in the conversation until it had fully "warmed up". At this point they retreated to the sidelines to observe and record the resulting linguistic behaviour. While this *might* have reduced the observer/observee distinction, we cannot say this categorically and, therefore, we cannot claim absolutely that Blom and Gumperz recorded their informants' truly uninhibited speech.

In his study of Edinburgh schoolchildren Reid (1978) attempted to observe whether or not eleven year old school-boys were aware of stylistic variation in speech, and the extent to which they varied their speech on the

basis of formality. Reid used interviews to elicit formal speech, and the group technique in order to obtain two less formal styles. The methods Reid used in an attempt to obtain informal speech were:

1. recording his informants while they conversed with peers on subjects of mutual interest;
2. recording normal playground interaction by having 'wired up' his informants with a microphone.

Technique 1 is unlikely to have elicited the boys' most informal speech style as the presence of the researcher is likely to have inhibited them, at least to some extent. Technique 2 also failed to elicit the boys' most informal style as it completely backfired due to the fact that the children were inhibited by the microphone. In order to overcome this Reid advised them to act as commentators on the events of the playground, but this only worsened the problem as they then tended to copy the speech of TV and radio sports commentators, thus displaying a style very different to their usual one.

1.4.2 SOCIAL NETWORKS, L.MILROY, AND CHESHIRE

'Social Network' is a term used by sociologists and social psychologists (eg., Granovetter (1982), Mitchell (1973)) to explain the social relationships between people who, as members of a society, adhere to certain rules and codes defined by that society. Social Networks

can be used to explain the reasons why groups within a society adopt roles and behaviours based on (strictly) non-social phenomena eg., gender, ancestry, and also to describe these groups. L.Milroy (1980) applied the notion of Social Networks to the study of linguistic variation in her investigation into the speech of people in Belfast.

The concept of Social Networks, when applied to a linguistic situation is based on the premise that the strongest forms of urban non-standard language varieties are usually to be found in working class areas, as there is a strong sense of identity and autonomy shared by the members of the communities there (L.Milroy (1980:21). Linguistic variation does, however, still occur in these dense networks and this is to do with not only the density of the network itself, but also the extent of each individual's integration into it. In order to explain how varying degrees of integration of individuals into even the densest social networks can cause linguistic variation L.Milroy devised a five point test designed to calculate an individual's "network score" ie., the extent to which he/she has network integration (L.Milroy 1980:141,2). (It is important to point out here that the last three points in L.Milroy's test relate directly to employment eg.,

"3. Working at the same place as at least two others
from the same area" (ibid).

This has been criticised by Coates (1993:103) for making the test too reliant on employment culture rather than on some other factor ie., it assumes that all networks have as their nucleus the workplace (see §1.2 above for an example of a study where this was found not to be the case)).

L.Milroy devised a new methodological technique to elicit the vernacular from the dense social networks she was investigating. This involved recording group speech, and most importantly, gaining membership to the network herself in order to record the most spontaneous speech style. She achieved this by gaining access to the group in the form of what she calls 'second order network status' ie., membership as a friend of a friend.

L.Milroy's findings in this study supported her hypothesis that linguistic behaviour is connected to network density, at least in the Belfast communities she was studying. We must remember, however, that communities of this nature are characteristically older, working class, urban communities, most of which are, if not already, well on their way to being broken up. This is due to modern British policies on housing (ie., the creation of suburban housing schemes and new towns designed to relocate the urban working class away from overcrowded and often substandard housing of central areas. One of the effects of such policies has been the

break-up of close communities and denial of the opportunity to live and socialise amongst workmates). Also relevant is the general modernisation of society as it becomes more meritocratic (leading to an increase in social mobility), and the increase in the number of people who commute to work due to improved transport made necessary by the relocation of the working classes. This increase in the differentiation of the home and workplace is, however, only part of the explanation for the break-up of the old working class communities. The main reason for there being fewer today is the general lack of availability of working class (ie., semi or unskilled) employment due to the economic base of Britain moving away from industry in favour of commerce. The closure of the industrial establishments which had once financially supported communities eg., collieries, ship-builders, has resulted in ever increasing unemployment levels in many traditionally working class areas in Britain.

Difficulties, therefore, exist for the present-day researcher in finding a dense network to research (though some do still exist). In addition, we have no absolute test to ensure that all her data was obtained without interference from the Observer's Paradox, even though that was the general impression. We cannot rule out the fact that some speech modification may have occurred because she was not a life-long, fully integrated member

of the groups she was studying ie., that she had only "second-order network status".

In her study of Reading speech Cheshire (1982) used 'Matched Guise' methodology. Cheshire used Labovian group methodology along with Social Network membership to investigate a group which could not be said to constitute a dense social network as defined by L.Milroy (1980) ie., even when we take school to represent the workplace of her adolescent informants, they did not meet the criteria of L.Milroy's network integration test. Cheshire's informants were a group of adolescents who tended to congregate at a playground. She was able to gain at least peripheral membership of the group via her own young age and her personality and, she claims, was able to record her informants' most usual speech as they did not feel the need to modify towards either the Standard (as the research did not appear to be a formal study of language), or the Non-standard (as there appeared to be no apparent threat to the integrity of the group).

Cheshire, through this study, showed that gaining membership of a group can reap very good results and can be applied outwith the constrictions of having to find a dense network with multiplex links to almost any group so long as the researcher can be seen as suitable for membership.

It is essential for a researcher to be able to pose convincingly as a 'real' member of the group in order that he can witness the usual behaviour (linguistic and otherwise) of those he is basing his research on in their natural environment. If the researcher is not suitable for membership or cannot maintain his 'pretence' he is faced with (at the least) all of the problems associated with the Observer's Paradox. This is discussed fully at §1.4.3 below.

1.4.3 GROUP MEMBERSHIP: POTENTIAL DRAWBACKS

It is of huge importance when using group membership methodology that the researcher's apparent age, social class, personality, and often gender are appropriate. A good example of a study in which the researcher's apparent personal qualities were of paramount importance in gaining the acceptance and trust of the 'real' group members is Patrick's study of the internal psyche of teenage gangs and the motivation behind gang membership (Patrick 1973). Having made an initial contact through whom membership could be made possible, Patrick had to be able to pose convincingly as a gang member in 1960's Glasgow. It was essential that he was able to portray himself as of a suitable age (ie., between fifteen and eighteen years old), social class (ie., lowest class), attitude (ie., delinquent), and obviously, male. In order to achieve this portrayal of himself it was of immense

benefit that Patrick looked much younger than his real age, and was male. In this case it was also necessary for Patrick to hide the fact that he had had a middle-class upbringing by attempting to display traits characteristic of working class people eg., wearing suitable clothing and using a strong Glasgow dialect with the frequent use of slang terms. This, Patrick found some difficulty with at first and makes a point which is relevant to all social research, but particularly poignant to potential linguistic researchers, when he states that having been "born and bred in Glasgow, I thought myself 'au fait' with the local dialect and...reasonably familiar with their slang - another serious mistake as it turned out" (Patrick 1973:15). This shows how important it is for a researcher not to assume that he or she can convincingly ape the behaviour of any group the study is aimed at as unforeseen problems can always occur, particularly if the researcher has assumed that he can successfully fool his informants without fully researching the traits necessary for membership. Patrick overcame this difficulty by remaining relatively silent until he had a fuller understanding of his informants' speech. This was most sensible as he would not only have jeopardised the validity of his research by being 'found out', but would also have put himself in considerable danger as his informants were known for their use of violence, particularly in the face of anything or anyone even loosely representing authority.

In summary, Patrick could not have undertaken this research if he had been a middle-aged, middle-class woman dressed in a business suit, nor could he have continued if at any time the real members of the gang had realised his true intentions and reasons for gaining membership.

Considerations of this kind are as relevant to sociolinguistic research as to any other social study, as although the personal danger to the researcher in Patrick's case would not necessarily apply elsewhere, the possibility of alienating informants by one's real intentions being found out can seriously endanger the whole study. At best, the 'Observers Paradox' is not eliminated, and at worst, the researcher is rejected by the group, which can render any research impossible. Gaining access to a group under false pretenses, apart from being ethically dubious, could, in theory, defeat its own purpose.

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN 'LOWLAND' **SCOTLAND - ADDITIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES**

Recording information about vernacular speech and attitudes towards language does not constitute a complete sociolinguistic picture. In recording different speech styles (including the vernacular) linguists can observe stylistic variation between the standard form of a language and some non-standard form and attempt to

explain why stylistic variation happens. In the same way, by recording the speech of people from different social groups, linguists can observe and attempt to explain the social differentiation of language. In addition, by studying attitudes towards certain language varieties, and by studying the historical and social reasons for some language varieties having prestige value while others do not, linguists can attempt to explain why some varieties become viewed as less desirable than others. In cases such as 'Lowland' Scotland, however, an almost diglossic situation prevails, and this has to be taken into account by the researcher.

In 'Lowland' Scotland, two descendants of the same mother language, Old English, exist side by side and are, themselves, subject to variation in terms of geographical (and arguably, social) distinction. These two descendants are English and Scots (in the form of Scottish Standard English (SSE) and the Scots dialects respectively, see §2.2 and §2.3). The prestige accent in 'Lowland' Scotland is SSE rather than RP, as identifying oneself as Scottish is as important as identifying oneself as belonging to the middle class. Gumperz (1964:668-682) claims that SSE can be superposed on speakers who would habitually use another vernacular, namely a Scots dialect. Giles and Powesland (1975:16) illustrate (in this case, in a non-Scottish context):

Standard dialect is taught in the schools and is regarded as in some sense false since it is not expected that the children will ever use it as a medium for ordinary conversation.

(It must be remembered here that this is not the case for all speakers in 'Lowland' Scotland, as many habitually use SSE anyway).

It is, therefore, necessary for the sociolinguist in 'Lowland' Scotland to examine attitudes towards both SSE and Scots-dialect speech as identity markers, and to study any effects the two are having on each-other eg., if, and in what circumstances, either one is being replaced by the other. This has commonly taken the form of research into the loss of Scots lexical items in favour of their English equivalents eg., Sandred (1983).

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF NON-STANDARD LEXICAL LOSS

Studies of lexis as part of a sociolinguistic investigation must include research into lexical loss and change. Also important is research into socially stratified lexical distribution. Many studies (eg., Macafee (1983), Menzies (1991)) have shown that more non-standard lexical items are used more often by the lowest social classes, while the higher on the social scale one goes the more standard equivalents are used.

In order to investigate lexical distribution in terms of social class, age and gender appropriately the linguist must devise a questionnaire, and again, this practice is fraught with difficulties which, if not taken into consideration, can render any results potentially misleading, or at least waste the researcher's time. In the same way as research involving group membership (see §1.4.3 above) should not presuppose a full understanding of the language variety under investigation, a study of lexical loss also requires the linguist to remain independent of any preconceptions he or she may have on the linguistic behaviour of the chosen speech community.

1.6.1 STEREOTYPES AND LEXICAL OBSOLESCENCE

The sociolinguist must research the speech of informants without regard to preconceptions about the socio-economic and political make-up of a community. For example, Macafee's study of the speech of Glasgow's working class gives a rather old-fashioned account of the social situation in Glasgow (see Macafee 1983 and also 1994). The sociolinguistic results from this study appear to be based on the social stratification of a parochial city, economically dependent on heavy industry (Macafee 1983:15-16). This may describe the Glasgow of the past, but the socio-economic climate had changed by the mid 1980's (when this research was undertaken), to include the growth of commercialism and the erosion of the

industrial market, leading to mass unemployment of semi- and unskilled workers. Whole sections of the community (eg., the unemployed sub-class which had once constituted a large part of the industrial working class) were under-represented (if represented at all), as the study was based on industrial, working class speakers. (For the importance of representation see §1.7 below).

In a study of lexis it is important to select only 'real' words (ie., words used in everyday life) for a questionnaire rather than those which are only used to portray a humorous stereotype. For example, in her study of Glasgow, Macafee (1983) includes in her list of lexical items to be investigated words pertaining to the 'drunk Glaswegian' stereotype eg., *occifer*, *skelington*. These are mispronunciations and pertain to drunk or infant speech. They have nothing to do with sociolinguistics. This does not, however, disqualify words considered to be slang; as Agutter (1979) points out, although many items known as slang are transient within a language, some do remain within the speech of whole communities for lengths of time substantial enough for them to be considered part of the dialect (and sometimes language) proper eg., *ginger* originally Glaswegian slang for 'fizzy drink' has become an established feature of Glasgow dialect (Macafee 1987:185).

Similarly, several of the lexical items included in Sandred's questionnaire appear to be inappropriate for a study of lexis in Edinburgh. Sandred (1983) included in his vocabulary list items which a native speaker would know to omit as they, for example, pertain to rural life rather than life in a cosmopolitan capital city eg., *lowsing time* (according to the Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD)).

Obsolescence must be investigated by studies of lexical loss. Where the use of a word is suspected of having decreased it is important to check whether or not it has become obsolete, but the researcher must attempt to include only those relevant to the community in question. For example, in her study of Glasgow speech Macafee (1983) included in her questionnaire words which were inappropriate for a study of Glasgow eg., *netterie* meaning 'spider', which she included after consulting the Linguistic Atlas of Scotland (LAS). The LAS is a dubious source of material (at best only suitable for back-up) for a study of urban lexical loss due to its being based entirely on dialectological surveys of rural areas only. Her results for *netterie* could have been interpreted as suggesting that it had fallen out of use in Glasgow, when it is more likely that it was never characteristic of that dialect.

1.6.2 LEXICAL LOSS AND THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

As detailed in §1.4 group recordings have been shown to be conducive to obtaining vernacular speech in studies of the social variation of language use, as pre-existing norms of behaviour (including speech) are most readily adhered to in the face of one's peers. Group methodology is not, however, conducive to the study of lexis as what is sought here by the researcher is information from each informant about what he/she considers a word to mean and whether or not he/she uses it. In a group setting it is almost impossible to obtain reliable data of this kind due to the power of suggestion wielded by the group and the potential desire of an informant to maintain and display membership of the group through language use. Macafee (1987:183), after having used group methodology for a study of lexis claimed, in retrospect, that "group interviews were less than ideal for the elicitation of this kind of information". More accurate results on lexis are achieved when an informant answers questions independent of outside influence.

It must also be said that, while the Observer's Paradox does not necessarily apply to studies of lexis (because, strictly speaking, the Observer's Paradox only applies in situations where a linguist is attempting to record vernacular speech by systematic observation), there is always a danger in any linguistic research that an

informant will give answers which he feels are 'correct', or which identify him with a specific group. This is as true of answers to questions about lexis as any other linguistic form. It would appear then, that it is almost impossible to eliminate the observer/observee distinction in all sociolinguistic research.

1.6.3 THE PRESENT STUDY

To fully investigate the sociolinguistic situation in a given speech community lexical loss and variation should be included. It appears best, however, to use groups of informants when studying social and stylistic variation, and to avoid groups when investigating lexis. It seems clear that, to date, the methodology which would elicit the most objective data and results is a combination of two techniques. Ideally, these would be to use a Labovian group approach using L.Milroy's practice of gaining group membership for studies of social variation and style shifting (see §1.2 and §1.3 above) and complement this with an interview on lexis using a Macafee-style questionnaire to be answered by one informant at a time. This, however, would not only be extremely time consuming, but could also not be said absolutely to have eliminated the observer/observee distinction, and thus, give truly objective results.

For the present study several methodologies were referred to and eliminated for the reasons given in §1.4 above. The present study is concerned not only with social and stylistic variation of language use in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but also with attitudes towards Scots, education in Scotland, linguistic stereotypes etc. (see §1.1). It was therefore decided that the maximum amount of information about all of these aspects of sociolinguistics could be obtained during a long and detailed interview using a questionnaire (see Chapter 3 for the questionnaire in full). The present study did not even attempt to elicit vernacular speech for analysis, but rather, asked the informant directly to evaluate his or her own speech. The informants in this study were asked directly about their use of lexis, phonology and grammar (detailed in Chapter 5). While there was no real attempt to record vernacular speech, informants' answers could be compared to the speech they used throughout the interview (particularly when their attention was diverted from their speech). This was, however, strictly of secondary importance to the research, and was expected to result in a relatively small amount of information. It was thought, however, that the opportunity to obtain data about vernacular speech should not be entirely overlooked particularly when an informant's vernacular speech could be compared with his/her subjective evaluation of it.

1.7 SELECTING INFORMANTS

In the study of sociolinguistic variation it is usually the case that the speech of some group is being compared to that of another in order to record differences and/or similarities in the face of extra-linguistic variables. Most sociolinguistic studies, including the present one, compare the speech of those in different social groups, age groups and the two genders. In order to do this it is very important that each predefined group is properly represented (see §1.7.1 - §1.7.3 below).

It is important here to note that sociolinguistics is about trends in language use and can, therefore not be understood in terms of the speech of, for example, one individual. All that would achieve is a detailed description of that one person's idiolect. Sociolinguistics is also not concerned with absolutes since a group of speakers is very unlikely always or never to use a certain form of a pre-selected linguistic variable, but is usually inclined to use it more or less often than another group. Thus, if individual A of social group B uses variable X fifty percent of the times it is estimated that he or she *could* use variable X in the specified linguistic environment we cannot deduce from this that *all* people within social group B use variable X fifty per cent of the time, nor can we say that all

members of that group use variable X at all. All we can deduce is that at the time he or she was tested individual A used variable X fifty per cent of the time and test other people to ascertain whether or not the linguistic tendencies displayed by individual A are characteristic of social group B in general.

Sixty-four informants were used in the present study (thirty-two informants from each city being investigated). This number, though small relative to the communities it was intended to represent, was believed to be sufficient to show basic sociolinguistic trends in terms of age, social group and gender in Glasgow and Edinburgh. It has been argued that "a speech community sample need not include the large number of individuals usually required for other kinds of behavioural surveys" (Sankoff 1974:22 in Chambers 1995:40). Sankoff means here that non-linguistic social studies (eg., political opinion polls) require extensive random representation, but the linguistic behaviour of a community is less random than other types of social behaviour (eg., political preferences). The basic patterns of linguistic variation are, therefore, observable with fewer informants. This is a commonly accepted premise, as linguists including Milroy (1987) and Davis (1990) can be cited as agreeing that truly random sampling, apart from being practically-speaking impossible with regard to

detailed sociolinguistic research, is unnecessary (Chambers (1994:41)).

It is equally important, however, not to under-represent any group. While Labov asserts that "... we find the basic patterns of class stratification, for example, emerge from samples as small as twenty five speakers" (Labov 1972(a): 204), we must remember that the smaller the sample, the greater the margin of error (or at least misinterpretation of data). There is always the danger that any division and sub-division of informants can whittle them down to a number too few for reliable comparison when the original sample is very small. The groups being investigated in the present study are not, on the whole, subdivided eg., males of Social Group X and Age Group Y are not compared with females of Social Group A and Age Group B. Too many informants would be required for this to be practical, eg., for a study of speech in Edinburgh where the total population is somewhere in the region of four hundred thousand (1991 Census), in order to provide an adequate representation of all social groups and subdivisions of these groups in the city a sample no smaller than one hundred and fifty informants should be used. Again, this would, of course be impractical. The present study instead compares only age group with age group, gender with gender etc., and only where the results show significant trends does it cross-compare social factors (though any cross-comparisons in

the present study are restricted to two social factors only eg., males of Social Group X may, if there exists a significant trend, be compared with males of Social Group Y).

From each city four age groups, four social groups and both genders were equally represented, and the criteria on which these representations were made are described in §3.1 below.

1.7.1 AGE GROUPS

Well defined and well represented age groups are very important in studies of sociolinguistic variation. Fair representation is important due to the fact that the investigation into linguistic variation in terms of age group is an integral part of most sociolinguistic studies.

Each age group to be represented must be well defined and include a suitable number of informants in order that comparison with others is possible. The make-up of the four age groups used in the present study is detailed in §3.1 below.

1.7.2 SOCIAL CLASS

The reasons outlined in §1.7.1 for appropriate representation of age groups can also be applied to the representation of social class. In order to compare speakers on the basis of their social class the social class groups must be appropriately represented.

Social class is a difficult concept to define as it has to do with the complex socio-economic situation an individual finds him or herself in. The term "social class" itself is, in reality, used by sociologists, economists, local government officials etc., for the purpose of categorising populations into smaller socio-economic groups with differing amounts of opportunity and need. It is, however, a useful concept to apply to the study of sociolinguistics.

Several sociolinguistic studies have deemed the occupation of the husband/father of a family to be the best indicator of the social class of not only that person himself, but his whole immediate family ie., wife and children. Macaulay (1977) and Reid (1978), amongst others, have based their sociolinguistic studies on the basis of social class as defined by the occupation of the husband and father. This is fraught with potential problems as there is no reason to assume that a husband's occupational status reflects his wife's social class eg.,

she may be employed in a far higher or lower status occupation, and have a far higher or lower social background with respect to education, standard of living etc.. In the same way there is no reason to assume that a father's occupational status reflects the social class of his children. This is particularly important when the investigation is about speech, as in Western society in general a child's speech tends to be influenced to a far greater extent by his or her mother, at least during infancy, as it tends to be the mother who spends most time with a child, especially in the period when language is acquired. In Reid's (1978) study of the speech of Edinburgh school-boys (see §1.4.1), the informants' social class was based on the fathers' occupation only. This does not account for the greater influence of mothers' speech, as well as the influence of peer group speech (though the schools from which he took his informants were socially graded).

Labov (1966) in his New York City study based the social class of his informants on the occupation of the family breadwinner, the education attained by the informant, and the total income of the family as a whole. This is better than basing social class solely on the occupation of the husband/father, but is still open to criticism as it is dependent on too few factors. Using the total income of the family to determine social class is always potentially misleading because in most families the total

income differs as time-related factors change eg., if the wife temporarily becomes a non-employed mother the total income will be produced by the husband alone. Also, the younger a couple is the lower the income of either partner tends to be due to lack of promotion etc., and the less likely they are to have any children contributing to the family income (though this is not a feature of family life to the same extent nowadays as it has been in the past), thus possibly keeping the total income of the family lower than would actually reflect the social class of each individual member.

Sandred (1983) based the social class of his informants on the locality the informant lived in, the occupation of the informant, education, and type of housing lived in. Similarly, in his sociolinguistic study of Norwich, Trudgill (1974(a)) used a six-pointed sampling technique based on occupation of the informant, father's occupation, income, education, locality and type of housing to determine social class. The methods used in these studies to determine social class can be said to be far more satisfactory as they are multi-faceted, and therefore less open to error.

Several sociolinguistic studies have been concerned with the speech or opinions of one social group only eg., Macafee (1987), and so have omitted the clarification of the social class of each individual informant, basing the

study instead on the area from which the informants are taken with the assumption that it is made up of people of the same social class. Macafee (1987) did not split her informants into social class groups because the aim of her study was not to compare the linguistic behaviour of differing social classes, but instead to study the extent of use of the Glasgow dialect amongst the working class. Based on Macafee's knowledge of the area from which the informants were selected the assertion was that all the informants were, in fact, working class. This is not without risk, as without some objective means of measuring social class (eg., L.Milroy (1980) studied working class Belfast communities as defined by the Northern Irish Community Relations Commission) potentially misleading results are possible. This is because in an economic climate where class mobility is not uncommon, there is no reason to assume that every informant found in an area will actually be of the social class traditionally associated with it.

The techniques used to define social class and the make-up of the four social class groups used in the present study are described in §3.1 below.

1.7.3 GENDER

Unsurprisingly, and for the reasons outlined for both age groups and social class groups, it is important to equally represent both genders in a sociolinguistic study.

Linguistic variation based on gender has been shown through empirical studies to be an important sociolinguistic phenomenon and has been the subject of several theories about the differences in language use of the two genders. Labov (1972(a)) and Trudgill (1983), for example, both claimed that women tend more towards standard language forms than men because women are more aware of the apparent social status implied by the standard language (see §1.2), while L.Milroy (1980) claimed that the differentiation of language use based on gender is to do with gender differentiation within the society itself, rather than with social awareness (see §1.4.2 above).

In order to explain fully a sociolinguistic situation, representation of both genders is necessary. Some sociolinguistic studies have been based entirely on the speech habits of males only, eg., Labov's study of BEV (1972(b)) and Reid (1978). Coates (1993) claims that the exclusion of females from a study leads to an incomplete picture of the linguistic situation in a speech community

as "gender has emerged as an important sociolinguistic variable...and gender differences often cut across social class variation" (Coates 1993:85). In this way, Coates is claiming that linguistic differences based on gender is not an isolated concept, but is instead intricately connected to and interacts "in a complex way with other kinds of social differentiation" as it affects language (Coates 1993:204).

1.8 IDENTITY AND STEREOTYPING

As shown in §1.2 the language use displayed by a group is usually connected to their identification and loyalty to that group. In the case of large urban settings, at least, the groups which are apparently most readily adhered to linguistically are social class groups, and the common scenario is one where the lowest social class groups use the most non-standard vernacular and the highest the most standard vernacular. Due to the nature of Western society in general, social class divisions exist. Broadly speaking there exists general mistrust between the social classes resulting in the stereotyping of an entire social class by another as being made up of people of somewhat undesirable character, often purely on the basis of being different. These social class notions are extended to apply to the language use of a given social group due to that group's language variety often being the first and most apparent identification with

that social class. For instance, with regard to social class Sandred (1983:43) found that:

It is common...to condemn the speech of a person or group of people as "rough" or "sloppy" because this is the way the individual or group is perceived.

Similarly, notions of 'good' and 'bad' can be applied to language when, in fact, language is not an objectively qualitative entity. Because "the gift of speech and well ordered language is characteristic of every known group of human beings" (Sapir 1949) we can say that all language varieties are of equal value. Society imposes judgmental notions on language varieties, and usually (though not always) this imposition comes from above. As Trudgill (1983:214) explains:

Standard and prestige accents acquire their high status directly from the high-status [social] groups that happen to speak them...

This being the case, we find that the further a variety is away from the prestigious standard form, the 'worse' it is perceived due to it being indicative of groups of lower social status. In Britain this usually results in the sociolinguistic situation being one where we find "Standard English at the top of the class pyramid and regional British dialects, including Scots dialects, at the bottom with the working classes" (Menzies 1991:30).

With greater status being identified with the use of standard varieties it is the sociolinguist's task to investigate why everyone does not speak the standard form. In discussing the Glasgow situation Kay (1986:153) claims that:

Glaswegian [dialect] has enormous internal prestige. The strength of the dialect there lies with the strength of the working-class identity.

Feelings of internal prestige and the pressure to identify oneself with the low-status group one is a member of are well documented in many sociolinguistic studies. For example, Reid (1978:170) quoted an informant saying:

...if I talk with a sort of clean accent...they'll think...a bit of a bore...if you talk with the same accent as they do they'll just think...you're one of us in a way.

In this way we can see that the non-standard language varieties are sustained through the internal prestige given to them, and the pressure to identify oneself as part of the group in the face of one's own community.

1.8.1 SUBJECTIVE EVALUATION

Like the present study, several sociolinguistic investigations have included subjective evaluation tests, eg., Sandred (1983), Macaulay (1977). In general these tests ask the informant his or her own subjective opinion on his or her own speech, the speech of other social groups, and a specific dialect. Responses to these questions are then used to determine the social stratification of the language in that community.

In his study of Glasgow Macaulay (1977) investigated the speech and opinions of three groups of people. He called these groups the Community Sample, the Teachers Sample, and the Employers Sample respectively. All were asked about their subjective evaluation of their own speech, dialects in general, and the Glasgow dialect. The data collected from these questions could generally represent the attitudes to localised dialects displayed throughout the Western world, but refer specifically to the Glasgow dialect. For example, one managing director in the Employers Sample stated that:

in a straightforward conversation...between myself and a strong Glasgow person, I think that there's an awful lot of bad English comes back
(Macaulay 1977:130).



This type of labeling language as 'bad' can be very dangerous especially in an employment situation as it can be interpreted by potential employers as a failure to grasp a full command of the standard language, and through this, lack of ability (see §1,8.2 below). The use of a non-standard language variety does not, however, necessarily mean a person is not intelligent, or able to learn, it merely indicates that person has a full command of some form of language other than the standard form.

1.8.2 PERPETUATION OF STEREOTYPES

The misconception about language being socially qualitative can have serious repercussions for non-standard speakers if it is institutionalised, as through this it can seriously affect a person's potential life chances. The most dangerous institutionalisation must be education (see §2.4 below). In studies where teachers have participated in subjective evaluation tests eg., Macaulay (1977) it has been shown that if a teacher assumes on the basis of a pupil's speech that he or she belongs to a group which commonly under-achieves, that teacher can often be less interested in developing that pupil's academic potential. (It could also be argued that the reason the group itself is thought to commonly under-achieve could, in fact, be a direct result of teachers traditionally stereotyping individuals within that group

and concentrating on them less than others who supposedly have more potential).

One study which shows how a teacher's subjective evaluation of a pupil, based on essentially social traits, can be different to that pupil's real educational ability was conducted by Jensen (1980). Jensen asked teachers to submit those considered to be the two "brightest" and two "dullest" pupils in their classroom. He then tested those chosen by the teacher on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), (a sophisticated IQ test for children). While he found that there was, generally, a fair correlation between the teachers' subjective evaluations of the ability of the children in question, and their actual intelligence, Jensen (1980:174) also found some "interesting anomalies":

A few children seemed quite bright who in fact were not at all exceptional in IQ, and a few fairly high-IQ children gave the appearance of being rather dull. For example, a painfully shy nine-year-old fourth-grade girl who had been nominated the dullest in her class...turned out to have a WISC Full Scale IQ of 116.

The reason the girl cited above was considered to be of low intelligence was that she was "taciturn and..hesitant and minimal" in communication (ibid). This mannerism was interpreted by teachers as being indicative of low intelligence, and thus lack of ability.

This is of interest to sociolinguistics in that if this kind of misjudgment can occur at all it is a fair assumption to make that it can refer to the speech of a child. It is not uncommon to find people, including teachers, who believe that an inability (or unwillingness) to display a full knowledge of the standard form of a language is indicative of that person's inability to learn that form, or anything else for that matter. This is, objectively, a fallacy, as all that a non-standard speaker is displaying by not using the standard form is that he or she has learned a different form, incorporating a different, but not necessarily easier, set of linguistic rules.

In addition to this type of false indication of lack of ability through speech, "hesitant" and "minimal" (in terms of communication) are both adjectives which can, and often have been used to describe speakers of a very non-standard language variety. Macaulay (1975) calls this 'linguistic insecurity' ie., non-standard speakers being reticent when invited to speak due to their fear of being embarrassed or ridiculed on the basis of the way they talk. Non-standard speakers can remain silent, thus giving the impression of lack of intelligence or ability, in an attempt to avoid being regarded as unintelligent on the basis of their speech (see §2.4 below for a full discussion of the concept of linguistic insecurity in

the Scots situation specifically). If this reluctance to speak (or the use of a non-standard language form) is interpreted by teachers as showing low intelligence they may, however unconsciously, be less inclined to concentrate on the educational development of a pupil, in favour of those who they believe have more potential.

Sociolinguistic study must investigate this type of potential disservice to whole groups of people and must acknowledge that as Edwards and Giles (1984) claimed:

...of all the areas to which sociolinguistic study is relevant education is clearly one of the most intrinsically important.

Williams et al (1971) tested the extent to which teachers' social assumptions about a child can affect their educational progress. A white middle class child's speech was played to teachers who were told that this child was, in fact, black, and as Edwards and Giles (1984) pointed out:

despite the fact that another (white) child's middle class speech patterns were superimposed on the tape, the black child was nevertheless perceived [by teachers] as sounding 'ethnic non-standard'.

This shows that inherently social traits, eg., *black child*, can be used to stereotype speech, eg., 'ethnic non-standard', resulting in the common label 'under-achiever' when, in fact, characteristics like this do not

necessarily mean that that one child has less ability than the next. With the many other social handicaps a child can be subjected to eg., lack of encouragement from the parents to be diligent at school, lack of money to buy books etc., the last thing a lower class child needs is to be stereotyped as an under-achiever by his or her teachers on the basis of social class, ethnic group, speech etc.

In situations where the visual is not a distinctive feature ie., status is not suggested by skin colour, speech becomes the most prominent indicator of social background. Thus, if the use of non-standard language is seen by the educational institution as indicative of low social status, and through this, lack of ability, a teacher's treatment of a child can be prejudicial.

Specifically, the problem for the Scottish education system is, as Bernstein (1960) (and his critics, see §2.4) and linguists such as Macaulay (1977) have shown, lower class pupils can be disadvantaged relative to their middle class school-mates because it is likely that those of a lower class will be less fluent in the language of the school (ie. SSE). In the Scottish situation this is all the more complicated than elsewhere because the language variety used by those of the lower classes (but not exclusively) is often a Scots-based variety rather than an English-based variety, and it is this often

extreme difference between the language a child habitually uses and the language variety the schools would have him use which the education system in Scotland must account for. (For a full discussion of language and education particularly as it pertains to the Scottish situation see §2.4).

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN LOWLAND SCOTLAND

2. INTRODUCTION

In order to investigate properly the sociolinguistic situation in urban Central Scotland we must first fully discuss the historical and political factors which have gone to make the linguistic situation in 'Lowland' Scotland as a whole somewhat more complicated than many other cases in the English speaking world.

Many people (including many Scots) believe that Scotland has two languages; English and Gaelic, yet as Sandred points out in referring to Aitken (1979), "...Scotland is a multilingual nation which has got "three languages"; Gaelic, English and Scots, each with its own status and identity" (Sandred 1983:22). Gaelic is the language traditionally used north of the Highland line (ie., in parts of the Highlands and in the Western Isles) while Scots is the language of the Lowlands (including most of the North-east). Scots is the historical language of the Lowland people which, though derived from the same mother language, Old English (OE), was separate in identity and make-up from the English of England for about three centuries and survives in the present day in the spoken dialects of Lowland Scotland. The prestige form of the English language in Scotland is a variety known as Scottish Standard English (SSE) (for a discussion of the varieties of English spoken in Scotland see further at §2.2).

In order to do full justice to each of these concepts, Scots and English it is most appropriate to discuss them individually.

2.1 SCOTS

2.1.1 A DEFINITION

Scots is the indigenous language variety used in Lowland Scotland which is not Gaelic or English. There is no Present-day Standard Scots. Instead 'Scots' is the name given to the group of dialects which are descendants of the Older Scots language (see §2.1.2 and §2.1.3 for an account of the history of Scots). The Scots language (along with Northern English dialects) comes from a northern dialect of Old English (OE), Northumbrian Old English. The Scots language, like the English language, can be split into developmental periods. These are outlined in Fig 3:

Fig 3.

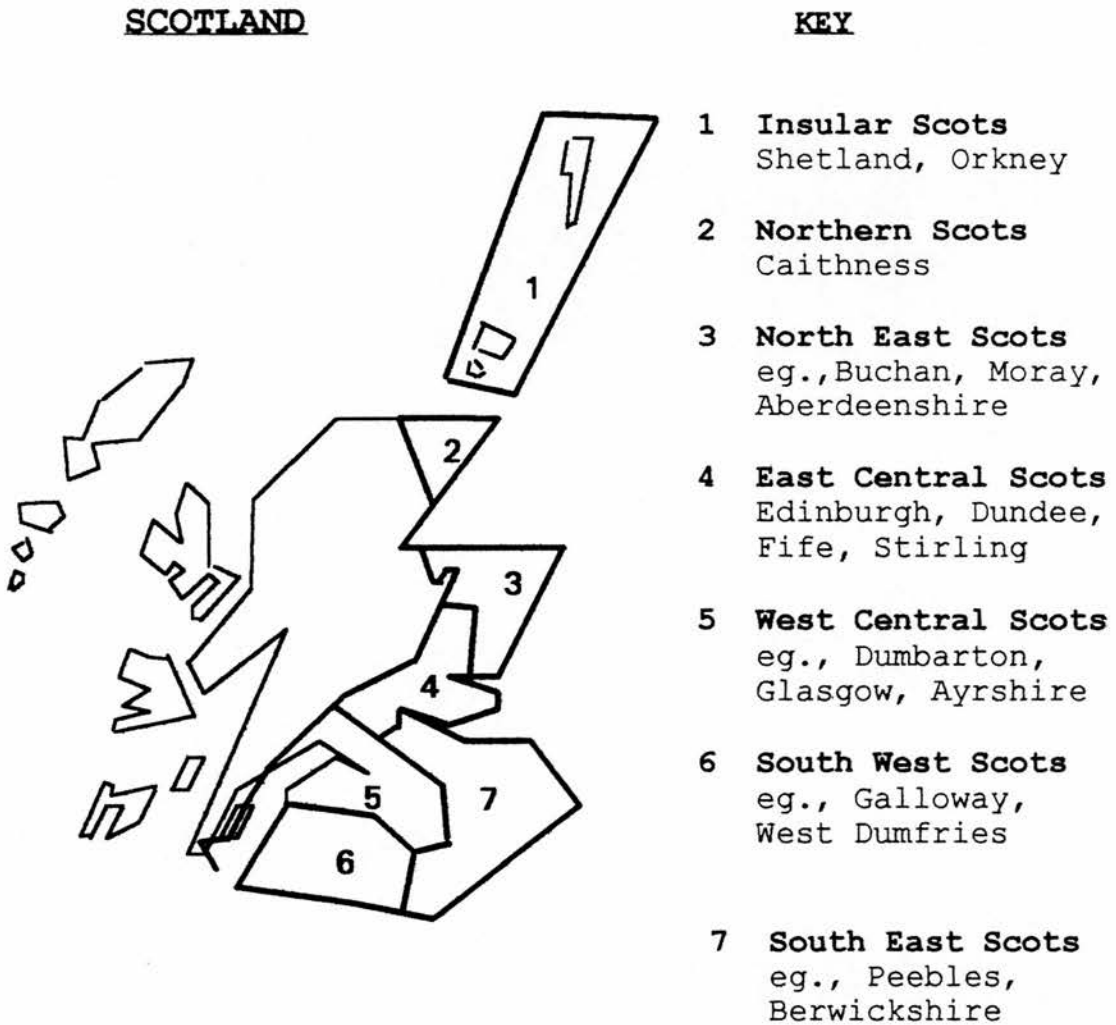
<u>Old English</u>	up until c1100
<u>Older Scots:</u> Pre-literary Scots	c1100 - c1375
Early Scots	c1375 - c1450
Middle Scots	c1450 - c1700
<u>Modern Scots</u>	c1700 - present-day

While §2.1.2 and §2.1.3 below give a detailed account of the history of Scots, this section aims to define and detail what exactly is meant by the term 'Scots'.

The present-day Scots dialects have many differences (as have the English dialects). As McClure (1988:21) points out:

Anglo-Saxon [ie., Old English] has fragmented to produce English and Scots, both existing in various dialect forms.

Before attempting to discuss this fully in the Scots situation we must first define the dialect areas of Lowland Scotland. There are no hard and fast rules about what actually constitutes a dialect area, but I have shown below in Fig 4. seven areas of Lowland Scotland which can be said to broadly represent different dialects within the one linguistic framework (or, arguably, language), though even within these areas there are many linguistic differences. It is important to note here that the dialect map shown in Fig. 4 is not identical (though not dissimilar) to those of other linguists who have attempted to define Scots dialect areas eg., Murison (1977), Robinson (1985).

Fig 4.

Differences between the Scots dialects are mainly lexical and phonological.

Lexical differences can be the result of different borrowings due to trade with, or settlement of people from different linguistic origins. As McIntosh (1952:22) states:

words of Norse origin which are peculiar to the far north of Scotland...have not spread southward to any marked degree.

It is important to note that McIntosh does not mean that words of Norse origin are only to be found in the far north of Scotland. What he means here is that certain Norse words which are used only in the far north are not to be found elsewhere in Scotland.

Lexical differences can also be the result of different linguistic conventions. For example, in the South-west and West Central Scots-speaking areas the word *wean* (a reduction of *wee ane*) tends to be used for English Standard English *child*, while Scots speakers in the east of the country tend to use *bairn*. Geographic separation can also be responsible for phonological differences between the dialects, eg., North East Scots speakers tend to use the /f/ phoneme in words such as *what* and *when* (for the orthographic <wh>), where elsewhere Scots and SSE speakers alike (see §2.2.2) would tend to use [w]. Phonological differences are often reflected in dialect-specific spelling. Therefore, in a North East dialect text *when* could be spelt <fen>.

To a lesser extent dialect differences can also concern grammar. For example, Scots speakers in West Central Scotland can have the second person plural *youse* while elsewhere Scots and SSE speakers would use *you*.

Despite any differences between the individual Scots dialects, it is the difference between Scots and English Standard English (ESE) which is most important when we attempt to define Scots as an independent concept. As shown above, after c1100 the variety of OE spoken in Scotland had become so different from Southern varieties that it is now known as Early Scots. Throughout the centuries Scots and Southern English underwent different linguistic changes which rendered them distinct enough to be considered separate languages (see §2.1.2 below). In the present-day Scots dialects this linguistic distinction from ESE is still apparent. Differences between Scots and ESE concern every aspect of linguistics, and each aspect will be discussed individually. It is important to note here, though, that what follows is a comparison between Scots and English Standard English (ESE) specifically and we must remember that there are many features of English dialects other than ESE (especially those from the north of England) which are shared with Scots.

1. Lexical Differences

Due to the fact that Present-day Scots and ESE are both descendants of the same mother language (OE), there are many words which are shared between them. As Murison (1977:48) states:

as a dialect of Anglo-Saxon [ie., OE] naturally by far the greater part of the vocabulary of Scots derives from there and is shared with English.

Examples of Scots and English words of OE origin are *tree* (OE <trēo>) and *bed* (OE <bedd>).

Lexical distinction can be apparent even in words of OE origin, however. These can be classed in two main ways: words that have become obsolete in one language but retained in the other, and words which are retained in both languages but with different meanings. An example of this first type of distinction is Scots *greet* (OE <gretan>) which is no longer used in ESE to mean 'weep'. Examples of the second type of distinction ie., that both languages retain a word but with different meanings, are the verbs *mind* and *stay* which mean 'to care' or 'to look after', and 'to remain' respectively. While both Scots and ESE use these words for these meanings, Scots also has the additional meanings 'to remember' for the verb *mind*, and 'to live (at/in)' for the verb *stay*. Therefore, the sentences *I mind my mother liked dancing* and *I stay in Dundee* make perfect sense in Scots, but not in ESE.

It can also be argued that where a word is common to both Scots and ESE, eg., OE *more*, but their historic phonological developments have differed, that the present-day end result ie., ESE *more* [mɔ:], Scots *mair*

[me:r], constitutes a lexical distinction. For our purposes here, however, it is easiest to show these as phonological variations rather than lexical ones. This will, therefore, be discussed fully below in the section on phonology.

Many lexical differences between Scots and ESE are due to borrowing from different languages. This relates directly to the different histories of Scotland and England, eg., Scots has many more words of Gaelic origin (not including those which derive from earlier Celtic languages which were indigenous to Lowland Scotland before the Old English period) than ESE due to the fact that Lowland Scotland is geographically closer to and has had, historically, more migration to and from the Gaelteachd than England. The main contributors to the Scots lexicon (other than OE) are Norse, Gaelic, Latin, French and Dutch. Examples of borrowings from each of these languages are shown in Fig 5.

Fig 5.

LANGUAGE	WORD	MEANING	SCOTS
Old Norse:	Raun	Mountain ash	ROWAN
Gaelic:	Gleann	Valley	GLEN
Latin:	Dux	Leader	DUX
French:	Assiette	Serving Plate	ASHET
Dutch:	Kolf	Golf	GOLF

Some of these words have subsequently been borrowed into English, eg., 'golf' (Murison 1977:48-52).

The influence of the languages featured in Fig 5. is apparent also in other linguistic aspects of Scots eg., Norse had a significant influence on Scots phonology (discussed below).

2. Phonological differences

The phonology of ESE and Scots can differ greatly. As mentioned above, a modern-day difference between the Scots and the RP (the spoken form of ESE) pronunciations of a word of shared OE origin can be so dissimilar that it could be considered a lexical difference. Variation of this kind is due to the different phonological developments of the sounds in an OE word in English and Scots. We will first deal with variation in vowel sounds.

As Scots and ESE are based on different dialects of OE the phonology was never absolutely the same. Also, linguistic convention in Scots and Southern English was not always identical, eg., the vowel in OE *hām* [ɑ:] rounded and retracted in the south during the twelfth century to [ɔ:], while it did not in the north. The Great Vowel Shift (GVS), which happened in both Scots and Southern English between c1500 and c1700, and generally raised the vowels (only those which were long), enhanced these differences. For example, OE *hām* [hɑ:m] was pronounced [hɔ:m] in the south, and [ha:m] in the north

by c1500 (the vowel had been fronted by this time in the north), and the GVS separated the pronunciation of these words even further, ie., in the south the vowel in *hām* was raised at the back of the mouth from [ɔ:] to [o:], and in the north it was raised at the front of the mouth from [a:] to [e:]. During the early nineteenth century, the [o:] in the south was diphthongised to [ou] therefore, we get RP *home* [houm] as opposed to Scots *hame* [hem].

In addition Scots dialects can retain the use of the Scots /ø/ where RP has /u/, in words such as *moon*. Prior to the GVS, English and Scots used [o:] in words such as *moon*. In Scots and Northern English dialects a sound change called Northern Fronting fronted [o:] to [ø:]. The GVS raised [o:] to [u:] in Southern English, and, arguably, [ø:] to [y:] in Scots, giving us RP [mu:n] and Scots [myn]. This then led to another extreme phonological difference between RP and Scots, as having raised the vowel in words such as *mouse* out of the [u:] space (to make room for the pre-GVS [o:] in [mo:n]), the GVS diphthongised what had been [u:] to [au], thus the RP [maʊs]. In Scots, due to the fact that [o:] had fronted to [ø:] before the GVS, [u:] was not raised. Therefore, words which had had the [u:] sound prior to the GVS remained unchanged eg., pre-GVS [mu:s] did not undergo

any qualitative change, ie., Modern Scots *moose* (Murison 1977:28).

Phonological differences between Scots and RP also concern consonants. The most obvious of these is that Scots retains postvocalic [r] while RP (and most other English accents) do not. This is an example of sounds originally shared between Scots and English changing in different ways or at different rates through time, as Southern English was also rhotic until the seventeenth/eighteenth century. Another example of this kind of phonological diversity between Scots and RP is the different pronunciations of words such as *which* and *where*. The OE [x \mathfrak{m}] (arguably [h \mathfrak{m}]) originally used in words such as *which* and *where* became [m] in both Scots and Southern English, but has since been replaced in RP by [w] while it has not in Scots (or SSE, see §2.2.2). Therefore, while Scots retains the phonological distinction between minimal pairs such as *which* and *witch*, [mɪtʃ] and [wɪtʃ], RP does not.

Many consonantal differences between Scots and RP are due to the influence of other languages. An example of one of these languages is Gaelic. Gaelic has influenced Scots phonology in that the [x] phoneme has been retained for longer than in Southern English. In the same way as with [r], [x] is not used in RP, but is retained in Scots in

the context of words borrowed from Gaelic, eg., the Scots (and SSE, see §2.2.2 below) pronunciation of *loch* is [lɒx], whereas the RP pronunciation is [lɒk], where the [x] has been replaced by [k]. Scots can also retain the [x] sound in OE words. For example, *night* (OE *niht*) was pronounced [nixt] (arguably [niçt]) in English and Scots, and can still be pronounced this way in Scots (it tends to be spelt using the Scots orthography <ch> rather than English <gh> ie., <nicht>).

Norse has also influenced the distinction between the phonologies of Scots and RP. Examples of this are the Scots use of [k] where RP has [tʃ] as in *church* (Scots <kirk>), and the Scots use of [g] where RP has [dʒ], as in *bridge* (Scots <brig>). These Scots pronunciations are shared also with many Northern English dialects.

One of the most important differences between the phonology of Scots and RP, again, concerns the different phonological developments of the two languages. Around 1300 Scots underwent a sound change known as [v]-deletion. This was where [v] was deleted in Scots from a word if it had a vowel on either side of it. See further at §5.2.2 for a study of this sound change in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Fig. 7 illustrates the Scots development of 'give' which was subject to [v]-deletion (ie., Scots *gie*).

Fig. 7

OE-->MEOSL-->1200-->[v]-DEL-->1300-->[ə]-LOSS-->1500-->GVS-->MODERN SCOTS
 [gevan]----->[ge:və]----->[ge:ə]----->[ge:]----->[gi:]

(MEOSL is Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening - a vowel lengthening which happened in both Scots and English during the ME period. [ə]-loss is the loss of the unstressed syllabic vowel at the end of words such as ME 'geva' ('give'). This also happened in both Scots and English).

Similarly, around 1350 Scots underwent a sound change known as [l]-vocalisation. This was where [l] became vocalised where it followed the vowel [a], [u] or [ɔ], and was followed by a consonant or a morpheme boundary. See §5.2.1 below for a study of [l]-vocalisation in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Fig. 8 illustrates the Scots development of *fall*.

Fig. 8

OE ----> [l]-VOC-->c1350-----> MODERN SCOTS
 [fa:l]-->[l]-VOC-->[fa:]--> ROUNDED -----> [fɔ:] (depending
 OR ->NOT ROUNDED->[fa:] on dialect).

Another consonant change which occurred in Scots is Syllable Final Consonant Loss (SFCL). This happened in Scots around 1475 and was the loss of a consonant at the end of a stressed syllable if there were two or three consonants grouped together which were either all voiced or all voiceless. This is illustrated in Fig. 9 for the word *send* (Scots *sen*).

Fig. 9

OE-->MEOSL-->1200-->[ə]-LOSS-->1400-->SFCL-->1500-->GVS-->MODERN SCOTS
 [sendan]-->[sendə]----->[send]----->[sen]----->[sen]

(The vowel [ə] is treated as short, and this is why it was not raised during the GVS).

3. Grammatical Differences

Present-day Scots morphology can differ from that of ESE in several ways. An example of this is that nouns do not always decline in the same way in Scots as they do in ESE, eg., *cow*, which has a general plural in ESE, is mutative in Scots, thus in ESE the plural is *cows*, and in Scots is *kye*. Scots also has several more invariant nouns than ESE, eg., the general ESE plurals *horses* and *years* are invariant plurals *horse* and *year* in Scots.

There are a large number of syntactic differences between Scots and ESE, and it would be impossible to deal with them all here (see Miller 1993 for a wide description of Scots (and SSE) grammar). Many syntactic differences are due to different linguistic conventions in Scots and ESE, eg., in Scots (and SSE, see §2.2.2) it is possible to have the construction *what like* within a sentence such as *What like was it*, where ESE would have *What was it like*.

Rather than attempt to outline every syntactic difference between Scots and ESE, I will instead, give examples of

three of the most significant and commonly used. One of these is that Scots (as well as other non-standard English varieties) can use the past participle of some verbs where ESE uses the past tense. This occurs in verbs such as *do* and *see*. Fig. 10 illustrates this.

(NB. Examples such as those given in Fig.10 can be regarded as morphological rather than syntactic differences, but for our purposes here they will be treated as being the latter).

Fig. 10

	VERB	PAST TENSE	PAST PARTICIPLE
ESE:	do	did	done
SCOTS:	do	done	done
ESE:	see	saw	seen
SCOTS:	see	seen	seen

As Fig. 10 shows, Scots (and non-standard English) can have sentences such as *I done the shopping on Monday* whereas ESE would have *I did the shopping on Monday* (for a study of this in Edinburgh and Glasgow see below at §5.3.4).

Another notable difference between Scots and ESE syntax is the Scots tendency to use a determiner where ESE does not (for a study of this in Edinburgh and Glasgow see §5.3.3 below). For example, Scots speakers tend to use the definite article when they are referring to institutions or diseases while ESE speakers do not eg.,

Scots speakers would say *He's at the school* and *He's got the measles* whereas ESE speakers would say *He's at school* and *He's got measles*. Scots speakers can also tend to use the definite article before a gerund, and personal pronouns where ESE speakers would not eg., Scots speakers could say *He likes the singing* and *He's gone to his bed* whereas ESE speakers would tend to say *He likes singing* and *He's gone to bed*.

Negation is another syntactic difference between Scots and ESE (see §5.3.2 and §5.3.10 for a study of this in Edinburgh and Glasgow). The simplest difference of this type is that Scots speakers can use the word *never* (often pronounced [nɛ:^xr] due to [v]-deletion, see above) to negate when referring to a single event or circumstance, while ESE can only use *never* in reference to a series of ongoing events or circumstances. For example, the sentence *I never went to the shop on Saturday* makes perfect sense in Scots, but does not in ESE, where it would have to be rephrased to *I didn't go to the shop on Saturday*. ESE can only use *never* in a sentence such as *I never go to the shop on Saturdays*, where it means that this has been (and will probably continue to be) an ongoing non-event.

4. Linguistic Conclusion

The previous sections have highlighted some of the main differences between Scots and ESE. While it is true that Scots and ESE do have a considerable amount of linguistic features in common (due to their both being descendants of OE), there are also huge linguistic differences between them. Even if vocabulary is kept constant, Scots speech can differ from that of ESE to such an extent that it might be difficult for an ESE speaker to follow it. This can be illustrated by the example in Fig.11.

Fig. 11

- SCOTS:** *Tam was oot at the schule playing wi his ba afore he done the singing in the kirk ower the road. Efter that he gaed hame. (Spelling as in the CSD).*
- ESE:** *Tom was at school playing with his ball before he sang in the church across the street. After that he went home.*

It is important to note that the intention here was to define Scots as an linguistic entity separate from ESE. It also illustrates that Scots "has as long a pedigree as English; and a speech form which generation after generation has been acquired and used as a mother tongue is nobody's faulty attempt at anything" (McClure 1988:17), ie., it is not an incorrect form of English. This will be further detailed in the following sections.

2.1.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTS

Scots, like all varieties of English, is a descendant of Old English (OE), the language brought into England in the fifth century by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. By the seventh century OE speaking Anglian people had spread north from Bernicia (or northern Northumbria) and were beginning to settle in what is now the Lothian and Borders areas bringing with them the Northumbrian dialect of OE. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the dominant languages of Scotland were Celtic (predominantly Gaelic) due to the fact that political power remained in the hands of the Celtic kings. The people of the West of Scotland had a long history of migration to and from Ireland with which they shared the Gaelic language. Also, due to migrations from Scandinavia, people living in Orkney, Shetland and parts of Caithness (which were once Scandinavian themselves) were mainly Old Norse speaking, though Pictish, an ancient Celtic language, was also spoken in some parts of Caithness. The evidence of place-names suggests that Northumbrian OE was the language of only Lothian, parts of Ayrshire and what is now the Borders Region due to migration from the North of England being limited to these areas until the eleventh century.

In the eleventh century, however, the Gaelic-speaking king of Scotland, Malcolm Canmore married an English

princess, Margaret of Wessex, whose family he had taken into Scotland as refugees after the Norman Conquest of England. In addition to this, Malcolm Canmore, inspired by the Normans in England, introduced aspects of the feudal system to Scotland, thus promoting the English language in Scotland as this entailed granting land to Norman nobles. The new landowners themselves were French speakers, and tended to live in the north of England but they employed their Northern English speaking entourages of servants, cooks, etc. in their Scottish properties and it is these people who are more likely to have had linguistic influence than their masters as it was these people with whom Gaelic and Pre-Literary Scots speakers came into direct linguistic contact.

By the twelfth century the growth in the number of Northern English speaking people in Scotland was further increased by Canmore's sons; Alexander I, and later, David I who brought English monks into the country to establish abbeys in order to strengthen the church by reorganising the religious system along English lines. These kings also extended the feudal system bringing in more English (at this time Anglo-Norman) immigrants. David I was also responsible for the introduction of the burgh system in Scotland, which started as the locating of subjects around a royal castle. Eventually these areas

became trading centres attracting many people, including those whose native language was English.

The English spoken in Scotland at this time is known today as Pre-Literary Scots which was originally more or less indistinguishable from the variety of English spoken in Northern England at the same time. By the mid-thirteenth century due to political and religious links with France the influence of the French language on Pre-Literary Scots was also becoming apparent eg., it can be argued that the vowel in *gude* (ESE *good*), then [o:], fronted to become more like the French vowel [y:] (Aitken 1979:86). This is debatable, however, as other linguists argue that Northern Fronting (see §2.1.1 above) had nothing to do with the French influence, and, in any case, [o:] fronted to [ø:] before it was raised to [y:] (Lass 1987:226-227).

During the thirteenth century, because of the external influences of the expansion of the burgh system, church etc., Scots continued to spread throughout Scotland (replacing Norse and the Celtic languages including Gaelic except in the North-west) until Early Scots was the common vernacular of all of Lowland Scotland except for in parts of Ayrshire, and parts of Galloway and Aberdeenshire where Gaelic survived until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.

The fourteenth century saw Early Scots becoming an official written language for the first time in that in documents where interpretation and meaning were in question, the vernacular was used. From the twelfth century until this time only the odd word and place-names were written in the vernacular in official documents. As the fourteenth century progressed, more and more vernacular was used in writing until in 1379 the first official document completely written in the vernacular was produced.

The fourteenth century also saw the continuation of the splitting of the language in Scotland away from the language in Northern England in that after the Wars of Independence the political and administrative centre for the North of England became London where an East-Midland variety of English was becoming the main vernacular, while the political and administrative centre for Scotland became Edinburgh where Early Scots was the main vernacular. Throughout this century Latin and French poetry was translated into Scots as the vernacular of the literate classes increasingly became Scots. Barbour's Brus in c1375 became the first piece of literature to be written in Scots and, in fact, Scots in itself seemed set to become a full language capable of meeting all necessary demands if it could gain higher social status. In 1424 James I was sent home from captivity in England

and gave the Scots language the increase in prestige it needed by decreeing that the laws of Scotland be translated from Latin and French into Scots, and that all future Acts of Parliament be written in the same. With prestige bestowed on it through official political acceptance and use, as Templeton states: "What we have now is not a regional dialect, but the language of an independent country" (Templeton 1973:6). In this way Early Scots was growing as a language, separate from the language of England, and increasing in its range of functions in that it now had the potential to be used not only for speech (as it had been for all strata of society since the thirteenth/ fourteenth century), but also officialdom, literature etc..

The fifteenth century saw the beginnings of written Southern 'Standard' English in England. Southern 'Standard' English (SthSE) was based, primarily, on the dialects of the East-Midlands, and due to that being the area where political and financial power was centred it was eventually established as the official written language of England by the eighteenth century. All other dialects in England were, as a result, more or less relegated to only spoken vernaculars. By this time in Scotland we have what is known today as the Middle Scots period, and this language remained more or less separate from SthSE due to the lack of contact (except several

wars) between the two nations (though SthSE did influence the style of some writers at this time eg., Dunbar). SthSE did, however, increase the distinction between Scots and the English of Northern England in that the written prestige language in Northern England became SthSE which unsurprisingly led to linguistic change there becoming motivated by and towards the direction of the English of the South (particularly the written form of the language).

Up until this time the Germanic language we now call Early Scots and Middle Scots was called 'Inglis' by the speakers themselves, the term 'Scottis' being used for Gaelic. Gradually as Gaelic lost dominance it started to become known as Irish or Erse (McClure 1988:14), and in 1494 came the first labelling of Scots as 'Scottis' by Adam Loutfut, due to its being by then so different linguistically from the English of England (Sandred 1983:13).

Scottis at this time was used by officialdom and for much poetry (though not prose). In fact, the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were the Golden Age of Scots poetry written by the great makars eg., Henryson, Dunbar. The language could thus have been said to have been functionally complete had it been used for any prose literature, as by the sixteenth century, the language

itself was fully capable of being used for any purpose, including prose. The lack of prose in Scots could be due merely to the fact that there appears to have been little interest in prose literature generally at this time as there was little (if any) SthSE prose either until the late sixteenth century. Scots prose literature, though attempted sporadically, never amounted to anything significant because just as prose was becoming popular elsewhere, the Scots language, to its detriment, began to feel the influence of SthSE.

2.1.3 THE DECLINE OF SCOTS

The Scots language began to decline in the sixteenth century. This was for a variety of reasons.

During the sixteenth century the amount and availability of English prose literature was increasing, not only in England, but also in Scotland. This resulted in the Scottish literate classes becoming familiar with reading SthSE. Because most of the population of Scotland was, in fact, illiterate due to there being no widespread education system, and the literate classes being relatively few in number, even authors and printers of literature in Scotland, for commercial reasons, were more inclined to use the English language in order to sell to the bigger English market. Indeed, the introduction of

printing had a more general effect on written Scots. As Devitt (1989:63) puts it:

Printing in Scotland was strongly influenced by English models. Many of the Scottish printers were trained in England..English books may also have formed the model of what printed texts should look like, since printed English books had been circulating in Scotland before printed Scottish books.

As a result it was often the case that an original manuscript in Scots was Anglicised later by either the author himself, or the printer before it actually went into print.

The Reformation in Scotland in this century helped to erode Scots as a written language in that in 1579 a law was passed demanding that every household worth more than three hundred merks had to possess "a bible and psalme buke in vulgare language" The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland Vol 1 (1874:37a). Previously a Latin Bible was used by the Catholic church. Unfortunately the only Bible available in print at the time was the 1561 Bible translated from Hebrew into SthSE by English religious refugees in Geneva (though Murdoch Nesbitt's New Testament in Scots existed by this time, but was only in manuscript). Through the fact that the new Protestant Church in Scotland exposed many Scottish people of all social groups to this English translation of the Bible, English was deemed the language of the official religion, and often the first written language learned as the

majority of people who did learn to read used the Bible as a text. By the time literacy became widespread (in the nineteenth century) people were used to hearing the Bible read to them in English, and learned the same way.

At the Union of the Crowns in 1603 ie., when James VI of Scotland became James I of the United Kingdom the court moved from Scotland to England (Devitt 1989:11). As a result English was used thereafter for all official crown documents (except those concerning the law which retained the use of Scots until the Union of Parliaments, and which continues to be independent of England to this day). In following suit many burghs began to start Anglicising their records. Throughout this period, however, people, though well acquainted with English in print, continued to speak Scots albeit often alongside English linguistic forms (particularly the literate classes). It was not until the Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England in 1707 when all official national matters (except the law) were dealt with in London, and thus in English that the spoken Scots language started to erode. The Unions of Scotland and England carried with them opportunities for the highest social classes in Scotland to visit London for business reasons. This, obviously, resulted in linguistic contact, and it is contact which "allows the perception of variation, which in turn allows the ideology of

standardization to require the labelling of some variants as more 'correct' than others" (Devitt 1989:12). This is relevant to the situation between Scotland and England in the eighteenth century because "as the political pressure for unification [ie., between Scotland and England] increased so too would the linguistic pressure" (ibid). The eighteenth century was the 'age of refinement' in Augustan England. Visiting Scots in comparing themselves to their English contemporaries found that they appeared somewhat lacking in social gentility. Gradually through seduction by polite English society English became seen as the language of the genteel classes in Scotland. As Devitt (1989:13) claims:

By the eighteenth century, the ideal for the elite of Scotland..had become tied to the language not used in Edinburgh, but in London society...Remaining traces of Scots became ridiculed as Scotticisms.

By the mid eighteenth century in attempts to 'correct' their Scottish accents the highest social groups in Scotland were increasingly referring to books on the proper pronunciation of English. This not only saw a dramatic decrease in prestige for Scots, but also the beginnings of what are now known of as the 'hypercorrect' accents of English in Scotland (see §2.2 below). Claiming as Murison does that Scots became "more and more restricted in its use and scope having lost spiritual status at the Reformation, social status at the Union of

the Crowns, and political status with the Parliamentary Union" (Murison 1979(a):9) is, however, too strong, as it suggests that by 1707 Scots had all but disappeared, when, in fact, it was (and still is) very much alive in the speech of Scottish people, and although it had lost much of its official status before the Union of Parliaments, literature in Scots continued to be produced for centuries afterwards. In addition, Murison is overstating his case when he claims that Scots lost its spiritual status with the Reformation as prior to the Reformation Latin had been the language of the dominant Catholic church.

The production of Scots literature could actually be said to have increased due to the influence of English on Scots in almost all domains (except the vernacular speech of the common people) as the eighteenth century saw the writings of poets such as Ramsay, Fergusson and Burns. Again, however, this lacked the back-up of prose literature, and within the poetry itself the Scots language was, as Murison (1977:6) claims, restricted to "subjects of an emotional, domestic or jocular nature. There was no epic, metaphysical or philosophical poetry.." ie., no 'serious' realm was dealt with in Scots. Again, Murison over-exaggerates, however, as Scots vernacular prose did exist at this time, albeit in a relatively small amount, and there was, as already

stated, a flourishing dialect-specific poetry tradition as evidenced, for example, in the anthology of eighteenth-twentieth century Renfrewshire poetry Radical Renfrew. In addition, it is not true to say that all literature of this time in Scots dealt with "domestic" or "jocular" matters as there are many poems which did not eg., Burns' For A' That and A' That, in which the message is universal and philosophical.

Gradually, however, as the centuries have progressed, and the population of Scotland has become almost completely literate (due to the 1872 Education Acts - see Chapter 6 for an account of education in Scotland), the influence of SthSE has filtered down to erode even the spoken language of the Scottish people (though this has been to a varying extent - see §2.2 below). In addition to this, Scots speech, like all non-standard language varieties in Britain, has been heavily influenced by the mass media which with the inventions of television and radio have promoted spoken English almost exclusively (at the expense of Scots). In this way, official and public use has given the English language in all its Standard forms (eg., American Standard English, Scottish Standard English (see §2.2), English Standard English) increased status, and has indirectly bestowed a lack of prestige onto spoken Scots. As Price (1984:192) states:

Lacking prestige, long excluded from the services of the church, from the schools, from all public manifestations of officialdom, and, nowadays from the mass media, except by way of local colour and character portrayal, open...to penetration of its phonology, grammar and, particularly, its lexicon by Southern English, Scots has declined virtually everywhere.

Price, however, like Murison over-states his case, as any diminution of lexicon is far greater in other non-standard linguistic areas of Britain than in Scotland, and many traditional and indigenous Scots phonological, grammatical and lexical forms are retained alongside the English Standard English or Americanisms we are exposed to through the media. In addition, Price makes the same mistake as Murison here by claiming that Scots has been excluded from religion, as while it is true that our ministers and priests do not tend to communicate to their congregations in Scots, it is also true to say that Scots features in the language of religion to a far greater extent now than in previous centuries (when religion was conducted entirely in Latin), due to the Scots influence on the SSE that the Scottish clergy speak.

2.1.4 THE SITUATION TODAY

This century has seen attempts to keep the Scots language alive, particularly in the post-First World War Scottish Literary Renaissance with poets such as MacDiarmid writing in Scots. This was, however, synthetic Scots, also known as Lallans. This variety was used for literary

purposes only. It is not, and has never been, a spoken Scots dialect as it draws from a variety of sources ie., it uses words and linguistic forms which can be indigenous to varieties of Scots which are rural, archaic, synchronically distinct etc. It also boasts its own Scots-spelling system, again, based on a variety of sources. In this way, Lallans has an extremely eclectic make-up, but it continues to be used in the present day by enthusiasts who have formed specialist groups which aim to promote the use of Scots as a literary language eg., the *Scots Language Society* who produce Lallans which is "the magazine for writing in Scots" (Purves 1994:1). This journal also advertises courses in Scots writing, and provides an ongoing "wurd leit for skreivars" (Purves 1994:39). Present-day interest in Scots as a full language (ie., one which is suitable for all purposes) also includes the publishing of surveys and dictionaries of both historical and present day Scots usages eg., The Scottish National Dictionary (SND), The Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue (DOST), and The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland (LAS), which have all been based on regional surveys of the language used in Lowland Scotland either in the past, or in the present day.

The Scots language today survives in the Scots dialects as they continue to maintain their linguistic distinction from all dialects of English (though the Scots dialects

continue to share many linguistic features with the non-standard English of Northern England eg., Geordie and Scots share, amongst other linguistic features, the [u] pronunciation of SSE [ʌu], ESE [au] in words such as *house*). Aitken has suggested that one of the reasons why the Scots dialects survive in the face of so much linguistic interference from English is due to "dialect loyalty" (Aitken 1984(b):527) ie., the identification of Scottish people as Scottish and thus as speakers of a Scots dialect. As Aitken (1984(a):112) points out this is shown by the fact that "the number of (more or less) important Scotticisms which extend to or just over the Border [with England] is remarkably high". This applies not only to Scots usage, but also to the use of SSE rather than ESE (see further at §2.2.2). (For a full discussion of language as an identity marker in Scotland see §2.3 below).

A new confusion now exists in defining the difference between 'good Scots' and 'bad Scots' (eg., Sandred 1983). Aitken (1984(b):528) writes;

'Good Scots' is commonly identified with archaic and rural varieties...and is believed to approximate to 'Ideal Scots'. 'Bad Scots' is the variety of Scots common amongst the working-classes of urbanized central Scotland - 'Urban Demotic'- marked by free use of those 'vulgarisms' of accent...

"Vulgarisms of accent" are commonly associated with the speech of those of the lowest social-classes within urban

areas, and are, in fact, criticised so heavily due to a general failure of society to separate notions of what they regard as desirable or otherwise from the language form associated with that notion (see also §1.7 on the stereotyping of speech varieties). As Menzies (1991:30) illustrates in her study of Glasgow speech:

The accent of Glaswegians is not intrinsically ugly: it is so perceived because it is heard from people of the lowest state.

The labelling of the Scots dialects as either 'good' or 'bad' is now what generally constitutes the social variation of language in Scotland. As countless studies of the sociolinguistic situation in Scotland (eg., Menzies (1991), Macaulay (1977)) attest, the English spoken in Scotland, particularly Scottish 'Standard' English (SSE) (see §2.2.2 below) is deemed the prestige accent, rural Scots is accepted as 'good Scots', and urban Scots dialects are deemed 'bad Scots', and even in some cases 'bad English' (described by empirical studies such as Sandred (1983)). The sociolinguist must, therefore, remember not to presuppose in his or her informants any objective knowledge of the historical or present-day linguistic situation in Scotland, a mistake which Sandred (1983) apparently makes when he asks his informants to label given words and phrases as 'good English', 'bad English', 'good Scots', or 'bad Scots', but does not make any attempt to explain to them what he

believes would constitute these various evaluative concepts (which, in any case, are not actually applicable to linguistics).

As linguists such as Sandred (1983) and Macafee (1987) have discovered the use of traditional Scots lexis is declining despite the attempts of several specialist groups, eg., *The Scots Language Society* (see above) to revive it this century, and this decline is probably enhanced by its low social status. As Aitken (1984(b):530) puts it:

Some who profess approval of "Good Scots" for historical and patriotic reasons, and who admire its use in literature, may yet discourage in children's speech the use on any occasion of identifiably vernacular Scots forms...for social reasons.

If this is the case, then, in order for Scots to survive through the next few generations there needs to be a massive increase in prestige given to the presently-surviving Scots dialects, and this can only be achieved through the acceptance of these dialects as being of equal functional value and social status as the varieties of English in Scotland. This, arguably, is an impossibility as amongst other reasons, the range of vocabulary necessary for a fully functioning language does not exist for Scots any more. Also, local dialects cannot be used for all purposes (eg., the media) due to the fact that local dialects, by definition, are not

easily intelligible to a wide audience. It would, however, be desirable for Scots to be accepted by speakers and non-Scots speakers alike as a language which is not an inferior version of English. In order to achieve this the extent of the imposition of social stigmatization on the dialects must be assessed by linguists, and the education of the people of Lowland Scotland on the historical and social variation within their language attempted. A programme of this nature is necessary as after centuries of the erosion of Scots the present-day speakers of Lowland Scots dialects can, themselves, believe that their language is an incorrect form of English, (and be unsure of what is the alternative 'correct' form). This is illustrated in the famous anecdote about the Glasgow dialect which Albert Kane includes in his autobiography:

It was wee 'Hughie' Dobbie's first day at school. Arrived home, he was questioned by his father. "An' hoo didye git oan re day at re skule, son?" "Ah wisht ah hudny goed." This reply somewhat upset the earnest mister Dobbie for he grabbed 'Hughie' by the scruff of the neck, and shouted "Whit sorta grammar's this ah'm gettin, 'ah wisht ah hudny goed!' Ye mean, 'ye wisht tae God ye hudny went'" (Kane 1987:52).

(For a full discussion of Scots and education see §2.4).

2.2 THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SCOTLAND

2.2.1 AN OVERVIEW

For the reasons outlined in §2.1 English has influenced language use in much of Scotland since the sixteenth century as it gradually replaced the Scots language as the official language of Scotland (in the form of SSE, see §2.2.2). As Aitken (1984(b):517) points out:

nearly all Scots of the present day command some variety of English and most Scots have it as their native language.

A relatively small number of Scottish people use a more Anglo-English approximation than Scottish 'Standard' English (SSE) (see §2.2.3 below) in their speech. This is most commonly Received Pronunciation (RP), the accent of English 'Standard' English (ESE) which is the prestige form in England, and to some extent in the provinces. Johnston (1985) contends that the RP spoken in Scotland is actually a specific variety peculiar to the highest social classes in Scotland, and for this reason he calls this variety "Panloaf" (Johnston 1985:39). The native Scottish people who use RP (or 'Panloaf') are most commonly of the very highest social classes with historical family connections with England (including marital ones), and who have often been educated in either England, or in one of the very exclusive Scottish private

schools designed to teach with an emphasis on Southern English ideology and culture in the belief that this is most appropriate for the highest classes. As these schools tend to be for boys only this accent tends to be attributable to more males than females of the middle and upper classes (this statement is supported by the results of studies such as Johnston (1985)).

The more usual situation in Scotland as regards the English language is that a great deal of 'Standard' English linguistic forms are used in speech. This is mainly due to the people of Lowland Scotland having a full understanding of English through it being the language they are taught to read and write by the educational establishment, and one which they are widely exposed to through the media. It can also be said to be due to the fact that throughout the last two centuries at least, English is the language taught by society in general to aspire to. In the eighteenth century 'Standard' English was considered by the middle-classes to more desirable than the Scots dialects, and this belief is retained in the present-day in that SSE is now considered the prestige accent by most people, whether or not they habitually use it. In this way, most Scots are aware that in almost all aspects of their language use ie., lexical, phonological and grammatical, there is an English alternative (usually SSE, see §2.3 below) which

is regarded as the more 'correct' form, and most Scots are aware of what this alternative is and are able to use it whenever a situation demands. Due to there being many linguistic features of Scots which are very similar to, or even shared with English (be that SSE or ESE) as they both originate from dialects of the same language, Old English (see §2.1), this would not be as difficult a task for a Scots speaker as it would for, say, a Gaelic speaker, whose language is completely separate and different from any variety of English. Bearing this in mind, however, for many people certain linguistic forms eg., the pronunciation of *house* as SSE [haus] rather than Scots [hus], would require a concerted effort, and the conscious use of any speech form other than their Scots dialect could be difficult to successfully sustain for any length of time due to it not being the form they would ordinarily use habitually. In other words most Scots are aware that the 'proper' form of, for example, *ken* is *know*, [hem] (for *home*), is SSE [hom], and *he done it* is *he did it*. These are examples of what are known as 'marked' Scotticisms ie., they are known by the majority of people to deviate from English and are to be avoided in formal situations because they are the kinds of linguistic forms most frowned upon by the SSE-based educational institution, and, arguably, by society in general. These linguistic forms can also be found in some English dialects, where they are 'marked' as being non-

standard alternatives in the same way (see §3.1 for a discussion on the use of 'markers' and 'indicators' in Scottish speech).

The linguistic variety with prestige in Scotland is, as suggested above, in general not the same as that in England ie., is not RP. The variety of English in Scotland most aspired to for prestige purposes is Scottish 'Standard' English (SSE).

2.2.2 SCOTTISH 'STANDARD' ENGLISH

Scottish 'Standard' English (SSE) is a hybrid form. It is the English language (which was adopted as the prestige form in the eighteenth century, see §2.1.3) combined with the influence of the dialect substratum of particular geographical Scottish regions. It does not really exist as a discrete entity in itself, but rather as a group of varieties of English influenced by the geographically distinct Scots dialects. SSE is, thus, a group of Scots-influenced varieties of English which are conveniently labelled as one entity as they can be said to constitute a basic variety of language due to their many identical linguistic forms ie., they all share many linguistic features eg., rhoticity, the use of Scots phonemes [x] and [ʌ].

In attempting to 'correct' their language use in the eighteenth century (see §2.2.3) the highest social classes in Scotland spoke English with a Scottish accent (as they had previously been Scots speakers). They did succeed in Anglicising their lexicon and grammar, but instead of completely converting their speech to that which was spoken in Southern England, they, in fact, created a new variety of English; English with a Scottish accent, now known as SSE.

The phonology of SSE contains differences from RP of a systemic, structural, realisational and lexical-distributional nature. An example of a systemic difference is that SSE (like Scots, see §2.1.1) retains the use of the voiceless velar fricative [x] in words such as *loch* and Scottish place names eg., *Balloch*, whereas in RP this sound is now replaced by [k]. Structural differences include the fact that SSE retained its rhoticity when RP became non-rhotic in the eighteenth century (subsequently creating further differences in vowel realisations affected by the presence or absence of [r] eg., the isolative change which occurred after rhoticity was lost in RP in words such as *pour* which is now pronounced [pɔ:] in RP while it is [por] in SSE). An example of a realisational difference is that SSE pronounces the diphthong in *house* as [ʌu] while RP uses [aʊ], and lexical-distributional differences include the

fact that SSE speakers are more likely to pronounce words such as *housing* as [hʌʊsɪŋ] while RP speakers tend to use [haʊzɪŋ] ie., with a [z] rather than an [s]. For a detailed account of phonological differences between SSE and RP see Wells (1982).

SSE can also differ from ESE syntactically in that, for example, the modal verbs *may*, *shall*, and *ought* which are features of ESE are virtually non-existent in SSE speech, usually being replaced by *might* or *can*, *will*, and *should* respectively. For a detailed account of the syntactic differences between SSE and ESE see Millar (1993).

SSE also contains many lexical differences from ESE. These can be split into two groups: Cultural and Non-cultural. Cultural lexical differences between SSE and ESE usually constitute the use of overt Scotticisms (see §1.2 on overt and covert language use). Overt Scotticisms tend to be lexical items which are often peculiar to some specifically Scottish domain eg., the Church of Scotland where words such as *kirk* and *minister* are relevant, and peculiarly Scottish customs where words such as *ceilidh* and *Hogmanay* are appropriate (Aitken 1984(a):107). Non-cultural lexical differences between SSE and ESE are, as Aitken (1984(a)) states, usually used covertly as they are due to the differing historical linguistic developments of the languages in the two countries. Thus,

non-cultural lexical differences between SSE and ESE are usually attributable to the borrowing of words into Older Scots, but not into Southern English of the same period or words found in both Older Scots and Southern English, but which have developed different meanings eg., *to mind* means 'to care', 'to object' or 'to observe' in ESE while in SSE (and Scots, see §2.1.1 above) it can, in addition, be used to mean 'to remember'.

In the same way that SSE retains some linguistic differences from RP, it is also linguistically different from the Scots dialects. SSE has rejected many of the linguistic features of Scots, particularly if they did not occur in ESE. A well-documented example of this kind of rejection of Scots linguistic forms is the realisation of medial and word final [t] as [ʔ] which occurred in Scots (and several English dialects eg., London Cockney) in the nineteenth century. Strictly speaking, this sound does not occur in RP or SSE, probably due to it being traditionally perceived as a working-class linguistic feature ie., was used by those of the lowest social classes whose language use is almost always regarded as inferior in all ways by the socially aspiring (see §1.7 above). As a result the use of [ʔ] in medial and word final positions has been much maligned by conservative SSE speakers when used by speakers of both Scots dialect

and Scottish English ever since. As Kay (1986:122) illustrates:

..pronunciations like wa'er, bu'er, Cel'ic [[waʔər], [baʔər], [selʔɪk]] still cause middle-class matrons to throw up their hands in horror.

2.2.3 HYPERCORRECT VARIETIES OF SCOTTISH 'STANDARD' ENGLISH

As suggested in §2.1.3 the practice of attempting to Anglicise one's speech which began in the eighteenth century in addition to creating what is now known as SSE, probably also saw the rise of the 'hypercorrect' accents of English in Scotland (though the exact date of their appearance is not as yet clear).

There has been very little research about hypercorrect accents anywhere other than in Edinburgh and Glasgow, hence the more usual name for these accents, Morningside/Kelvinside. Although differences do exist between these accents, it is both easier and more convenient to discuss them as if they were, in fact, a single entity.

Morningside/Kelvinside is an accent which is attributable to middle class females. Linguistic studies such as Abercrombie (1979) have shown that this accent is an

almost exclusively urban phenomenon, and within the cities it is more prone to occur in middle class areas, such as Morningside in Edinburgh and Kelvinside in Glasgow (hence the name), though it probably exists in other Scottish cities too.

Linguistically, Morningside/Kelvinside is a compromise between SSE and what Johnston (1985:38) calls Hyper-RP ie., a form of RP which is particular to the perceptions of middle class Scottish speakers. In this way Morningside/Kelvinside is a form of SSE which contains particular linguistic features that approximate more to Hyper-RP than SSE proper eg., the use of an approximation of [e] rather than SSE [ɛ] in words such as *feather*. Morningside/Kelvinside tends to be spoken by females rather than males due to the fact that during the nineteenth century it was promoted in small private schools for girls (Johnston 1985:40).

Many people in Scotland regard the use of Morningside/Kelvinside as a pretentious attempt to appear socially superior. As Johnston points out, however, this is, on first sight puzzling as the women who traditionally used these accents were not, in general, socially aspiring, but rather, were already well established as members of the upper-middle class. Indeed, Morningside/Kelvinside has been found by linguists such

as Abercrombie (1979) to be as "fully established, hereditary and institutionalized" (Aitken 1984(b):526) as SSE, and as such is not simply a social affectation. Nevertheless, it is impossible to draw any real conclusions about Morningside/Kelvinside at present as more research is necessary before claims such as Aitken's (above) can be confirmed.

It is most likely that the use of Morningside/Kelvinside is an attempt of the speakers to identify themselves as separate and socially superior to Scots (and possibly also SSE) speakers, in much the same way as broad urban-Scots-dialect speakers identify themselves as members of the working class (see §1.7 above and §2.3 below). This does not, however, explain why Morningside/Kelvinside is perceived as a pretentious and contemptuous affectation of socially aspiring middle class women. Johnston (1985:50) contends that this attitude to the accent is a relatively recent development brought about by the fact that in this century more women have become more able to improve their social position (through money, marriage etc.). Thus, with this increased upward social mobility came the tendency to assimilate one's speech to that of the already established upper-middle class ladies. Morningside/Kelvinside has, therefore recently become the domain of the aspiring and ambitious, rather than the established upper-middle class. Johnston notes, too, that

Morningside/Kelvinside is increasingly becoming a "relic" accent (Johnston 1985:54), as the private girls' schools no longer advocate its use (and have not for several decades) and the aspiring (alongside everyone else) are increasingly aware that it is regarded as both pretentious and ridiculous. Johnston claims that the late twentieth century has seen an increase in society's awareness of, and pride in being Scottish, and more security in identifying oneself as a Scot, albeit a middle class Scot, by the use of SSE. While it is true that Morningside/Kelvinside tends to be used by only older middle class speakers nowadays (all of Johnston's Morningside/Kelvinside-speaking informants were over fifty), it remains to be seen if, and to what extent there continue to be groups in Lowland Scottish society who identify themselves as separate in some socially superior way from the 'normal' middle classes by the use of a hypercorrect accent.

Until further research into the nature of and reasons for the appearance of hypercorrect accents is carried out it is difficult for linguists to do much more than speculate on hypercorrect accents of the past, or even the development of hypercorrect accents in the present.

2.3 LANGUAGE AS AN IDENTITY MARKER IN SCOTLAND

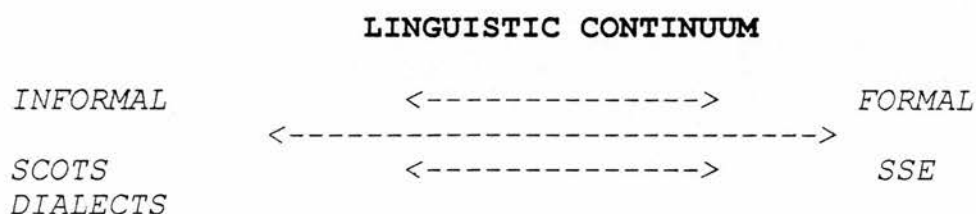
The spoken language in Scotland is not an arbitrary choice between SSE and a Scots dialect for most people, as the sociolinguistic situation in Lowland Scotland allows for a wide degree of variation between these two extremes. As Catford (1957:111) states:

The distinction between Scots and English is not so clear-cut or easy to maintain as might appear. The terms "Scots" and "English" refer to two linguistic poles between which there is an almost infinite possibility of dialect mixture.

What we must assume Catford means by "dialect mixture" here is the linguistic mix of a particular Scots dialect with some variety of English, rather than the mixing of distinct Scots dialects. Linguistic studies such as those by Romaine (1975), Macaulay (1977) and Macafee (1983) confirm Catford's contention that spoken-language variation in Lowland Scotland is not bipolar, indeed, it would be difficult to find anyone in Lowland Scotland who was able to speak **only** Scots or **only** SSE exclusively. Most linguists, such as those mentioned above, have found that linguistic variation in Scotland ranges along a speech continuum (see Fig. 12 below) which runs from the use of Scots dialect at the very lowest point on the social scale, and SSE at the highest, with a huge amount of variation in between depending on the extra-linguistic factors attributable to an individual (eg., social

class), or the formality of the situation the speaker finds him or herself in (see §1.3).

FIG 12.



Like speakers of most languages where socially motivated variation occurs, most of the people of Lowland Scotland are able to move up and down this speech continuum to some extent (see §1.3 above). The movement away from one's usual vernacular is in Scotland, like anywhere else, dependent on the formality of situation a person finds him or herself in. Thus, in a highly formal situation a person will use the most standard speech variety he or she is capable of, and in a very informal situation ie., one in which a person is both comfortable and familiar, his or her vernacular speech. This circumstance is all the more complicated when studying stylistic variation of this nature in Lowland Scotland because for at least some (mainly lower class) speakers their vernacular is a Scots dialect. In a most formal situation these people usually are able to use some variation of SSE, but that will be one with covert use of Scots phonological and grammatical forms not usually

attributable to SSE. This tendency is due to the fact that the lowest classes in Scotland tend to display the greatest use of covert Scotticisms (as documented by Mather (1973), Sandred (1983), Aitken (1984(a)) etc.) primarily due to the fact that they possess far more linguistic forms of an covertly Scots nature than the higher classes (ie., they are less aware of a linguistic form's peculiarly Scots identity due to the type of registers they usually converse in). Regardless of this, however, the typical case is that at some point on the stylistic continuum an individual in Scotland can effectively go from a Scots-based language system to an English (usually SSE)-based one due to the general assumption that English in some form or another is more appropriate in formal situations than Scots (this assumption is endorsed, and some would argue, created, by the mass media where English tends to be used and Scots does not). Research on the linguistic situation in Lowland Scotland must therefore include some investigation into when, how successfully, and, most important, to what extent SSE as the prestige form is aspired to by all social classes. The area of most interest must, however, be why the prestige form in Scotland tends to be SSE rather than English Standard English (ESE). The present research is directed towards an investigation of why, in the face of so much exposure to ESE through the media and one-to-one encounters with

RP speakers through increased travel and migration, most Scots of all social classes aspire towards their own prestige form of English, and why SSE survives at all.

The answer to this will, again, most likely be found in the concept of identity (see §1.8). One theory about the social variation of language is that the middle classes retain SSE as a medium for communication with the English speaking world, but also as an identity marker of their middle-class status, thus separating themselves from the working-class whose identity is supposedly indicated by the use of Scots dialect. In this way SSE speakers are separating themselves as the middle-class from the working-class, but also in using a form of English which is peculiarly Scottish, separating themselves from the rest of the English speaking world, and presumably from England in particular in much the same way as Labov (1963) found with the residents of Martha's Vineyard who separated themselves culturally and ideologically through their language use from the mainlanders and summer visitors (see §1.2 above). (The present study investigated this type of identification as different socially and also culturally in Glasgow and Edinburgh, see §4.1).

In the same way, the Scots language survives as the Scots dialects which are most commonly used by the working-

class. This is presumably due to the working-class identifying themselves as such through their language use. As discussed previously in §1.4.2, a fundamental part of the British working-class ideology is identifying oneself as a member of the working class through speech. This is perpetuated by the working class community itself as in the face of one's own peer group the language one is most comfortable using is that which is the accepted norm within that social group (see again §1.8). In urban central Scotland the strength of the working-class identity and culture is such that great pride is taken in the associated working-class dialect. This can also be said to be a reaction against the fact that institutionalised authorities publicly frown on working-class ideology and this reaction manifests itself as the antithesis of what the official world of authority stands for ie., as Kay (1985:170) puts it: "the typical Scottish reaction is intensely personal rather than considered and objective".

A sociolinguistic study of language use in Lowland Scotland must, therefore, acknowledge the presence of two co-existing forms of prestige; one being the typical language variety aspired to as an identification of high social status, and the other being the language variety aspired to as an identification as a member of the

working-class which in itself is an identification of status within that group.

2.4 EDUCATION AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN SCOTLAND

As shown in §1.8 there exist in Scotland today stereotypical notions imposed on dialect speakers. The common assertion is that dialect speech is corrupt or slovenly English, and there exists general ignorance about the history and present-day realities of Scots. It is true that social forces in existence in Britain today tend to inhibit upward social mobility (to a lesser extent now than in the past admittedly) as the life chances of an individual are innately linked to the upbringing and opportunities available to them; opportunities which are usually (but not always) made available by money eg., private education. Along with the general human tendency for offspring to share the same set of social norms and expectations as their parents these external factors go a long way to maintaining the social status quo. It is not the purpose here to examine why social stratification in Britain is generally self-perpetuating, but to examine the extent to which ignorance about the nature of the languages spoken in

Lowland Scotland and stereotyping based on language use has any part in this.

Many studies eg., Macaulay (1977), Menzies (1991) have revealed that Scottish speakers **appear** more reticent and lacking in confidence in speaking than their English contemporaries, a trait which can have far reaching effects on the lives of these speakers. As Macaulay (1977:132) discovered from his study of Glasgow:

.. the comments of employers, university lecturers and training college lecturers show that the main criticism of school leavers is their lack of confidence in speaking.

Scottish people are not inherently shy, but can be said to suffer from what Macaulay (1975) calls "linguistic insecurity" ie., a feeling of inferiority about their speech in the face of those from whom they are separated socially (see §1.8). This is made clear from the comments of an informant in Macafee's study of Glasgow as he spoke of his feelings when he first joined the Labour Party:

Ah would be afraid that Ah might've used the wrong grammar and sayed the wrong words, so this kept me quiet for a wee bit (Macafee 1983:23).

If Scots dialect (or any other non-standard) speakers' reticence is interpreted as lack of intelligence or ability at an institutional level, the repercussions for the speakers can be severe in that educators may

concentrate less on the development of a child who they believe to have less ability to learn and to benefit from education in favour of those with supposedly more potential. Although sociolinguistics and educational psychology have generally shown that there is no direct correlation between fluency in the standard language and intelligence or ability (see previously at §1.8.2), this notion is not necessarily typical of a layman's (including teacher's) view of the situation, and, indeed, even within the relevant academic disciplines has not always been an accepted objective principle.

Bernstein (1960) has been interpreted (mostly by educational psychologists in the USA eg., Jensen (1980) as claiming that the use of strong non-standard language is indicative of low IQ. He contended that typical working class language is made up generally of a "restricted code" ie., a code which comprises only a simple set of linguistic rules and lexis, in thought and speech, while the middle classes, ie., those who tend to be fluent in the standard language form typically use both "restricted" and "elaborated" code (ie., one comprising complex linguistic rules and lexis). This theory is known as the theory of 'Verbal Deprivation', and it contends that lower class people are less likely to express themselves as well as higher class speakers where "elaborated code" (ie., standard language) is most

appropriate eg., school. Through this, habitual non-standard speakers (who are, as mentioned, most typically of the lower classes) are less likely to achieve as they tend to be less fluent than those of higher social classes in the standard language. Bernstein has been interpreted as claiming that lower class people are less **capable** of mastering the complex rules of the standard language. This notion had a great influence on educational psychology in the U.S.A. eg., the 'Headstart' studies were implemented as a result of these kinds of theories. 'Headstart' was a series of pre-school verbal enrichment programmes for lower class Hispanic and black children, the latter of whom tend to speak what is known as Black English Vernacular (BEV) (Trudgill 1975:135,136). Labov (1969) refuted severely these types of notions of the sociology of language by showing in a series of experiments that in more familiar social circumstances, black children can express themselves, and are as verbally fluent in their own language form, as the white middle classes are in theirs, and that standard language is as complex as non-standard language when used fluently. Labov, thus illustrated by his experiments that lower class children are as capable of using "elaborated code" as middle class children as the working class language variety which Bernstein claimed was made up of "restricted code" was actually as "elaborate" as the middle class variety. Labov's later study of BEV speakers

in New York further confirmed the notion that lack of fluency in the standard form of a language generally has no link with low IQ, as when in a situation where BEV was appropriate for both speakers and hearers his black informants displayed a full knowledge and understanding of the complex linguistic rules which govern their own language variety, thus displaying capability in both 'restricted' and 'elaborated' linguistic codes (Labov 1972(b)). In this way, Bernstein's claim that Non-standard language forms are linguistically less complex than Standard varieties is discredited as linguistic researchers generally (eg., Labov (1972(a),(b)), Trudgill (1975)) have found that in linguistic terms no language form is significantly more complex or simple than any other, Standard or Non-standard.

In claiming that the lower classes are incapable of learning the standard language, some interpretations of Verbal Deprivation Theory suppose that, as a result of this, the lower classes suffer from "language deficit" ie., do not possess a sufficient amount of lexis, understanding of grammar, etc. with which to communicate (Trudgill 1975:134-136). This assumption was based on Bernstein's studies of the speech habits of school-children, where he found that lower class children were more reticent, on average, than their middle class contemporaries. The subsequent studies of linguists such

as Labov (1969), Romaine (1975) and Reid (1978), have shown similar results, but they also have shown convincingly that speakers of all social classes communicate outwith the formal school setting quite adequately in their most usual speech form, and are reticent within the school situation only because they feel that they are not fluent in the Standard form. As schools in Scotland, at least, usually insist on all communications being in Standard language (in the case of Scotland, SSE), and tend to view any deviations from it with distaste (at least) a child will often learn that it is easier to stay silent rather than use his or her non-standard form, or risk getting the Standard form wrong. The lowest classes do not, therefore, have language deficit, but instead have a different language variety as their first spoken language, thus rendering them unfamiliar and uncomfortable in having to communicate in the school environment in another language form. In the Scottish situation then, pressure from authority (in the form of schools) to speak SSE even if this is not the natural language of many Scottish speakers, can result in Scots dialect forms being regarded as 'wrong'. As Trudgill (1974(b):29,30) explains:

many children have been told so often that their language is 'wrong' that, in certain circumstances they are reluctant to say anything for fear of 'making a mistake'. They suffer, in other words, from linguistic insecurity - a linguistic inferiority complex... Teachers who express attitudes hostile to their children's language can produce linguistic insecurity in their pupils.

Self consciousness when speaking, however, is not exclusive to the Scots based working-class as it has been reported (to a lesser extent admittedly) in speakers of Scottish English too (Macaulay 1977), but this is probably associated with the fact that, until recently, the emphasis was on written rather than oral work in the schools. For the speakers of strong localised dialects, however, the fact that the educational institutions have, up until very recently, actively discouraged the use of Scots dialect has played a crucial part in keeping them silent when in situations where SSE is considered most appropriate (see below).

Upon entering primary school all Scottish children are expected to use SSE. This can cause huge difficulties for those children for whom a Scots dialect is their first language. Even with the media exposing children to SSE, ESE and American Standard English a working-class child in Lowland Scotland 'may still not have a full understanding of SSE due to his or her language acquisition and subsequent interaction on a one-to-one basis generally being with Scots dialect speakers. This lack of full comprehension of (particularly) SSE can result in the child becoming confused about what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' with his or her language use, and in order to avoid the embarrassment and potential punishment for 'getting it wrong' he or she can be

intimidated enough to remain silent. This would appear to achieve in dialect speaking children the opposite effect education is meant to have on them. This is due to the education system (in Scotland at least) traditionally making the unrealistic assumption that all children are fluent in SSE at a pre-school (and later) age. As Catford wrote as early as 1957 (pp.122):

we do not expect habitual ScStdEng [SSE] speakers to be able to switch over to a Scots phonological or grammatical system..

This being the case then, why do we expect a habitual Scots speaker to be able to switch over to a SSE system even if they do have a "fragmentary knowledge of [SSE] pronunciation and vocabulary"(ibid)?

It would be more appropriate for the Scottish education system to acknowledge the potential difficulties for those for whom SSE is not the first language and structure the teaching of SSE to be of benefit to them as well as to the many who habitually use it. In the past the education system has not dealt with the fact that the Scots dialects differ significantly enough from SSE to the extent that the Scots dialect speaking child can find writing and speaking SSE as it is imposed on him in the classroom extremely difficult to master, particularly in linguistic areas which are commonly covert eg., syntax. The education system has seemed, also, to regard the

Scots language in all its forms as unworthy of being part of the educational curriculum (see §6.2 below). As Low (1974:19) points out:

..this is one of the most remarkable features of Scottish education: there has been a persistent tendency since 1872 (perhaps now being reversed) to suppress anything characteristically Scottish.

Here Low is referring not only to the historical languages of Scotland: Scots and Gaelic, but also to the history, culture and the extensive body of Scottish literature (the latter has admittedly been taught to a greater extent in recent years due to its inclusion in the Scottish Certificate of Education 'Higher' English syllabus).

This type of denial at an institutional level can be said to be dangerous as it can alienate many of the people education is meant to service. In the case of Lowland-Scots-speaking children this alienation can start as soon as their native language variety is deemed unsuitable for the classroom and this can not only alienate the child from the school, as Cheshire (1984:549) claimed, but can also lead to more serious, long term bad feeling as a person's identity and culture (inferred by his or her speech, see §1.8 & §2.3) are devalued by authority. As Trudgill (1974(b):31) states:

..to decry a speaker's language is...to down-grade not only him but also those with whom he most closely identifies - which can readily breed resentment.

It would appear then that in order to avoid creating this kind of bad feeling the schools should not only acknowledge the needs of the Scots speaker, but also tackle the notion that the non-standard dialects are somehow inferior to SSE (see further at Chapter 6). In this way the education system should, rather than suppress Scots, actively teach it from both a historical and a contemporary angle. Plans to undertake teaching and linguistic tolerance of this nature have, in recent years, been laid but the problem facing the full implementation of this type of undertaking lies in the fact that today's teachers, being the products of the traditional Scottish education system themselves, and having had little or no linguistic training, are often as unsure of the languages of Scotland and unfamiliar with the history, culture and literature as the children are (see further at §6.3). Today's education system, therefore, apparently agrees with recommendations like that of McHardy (1993): "children should be taught that there is nothing wrong with how they speak just because they don't sound like people on the radio and telly" [ie., SSE, ESE and American Standard English speakers], but finding this ideology hard to introduce into the curriculum due to the fact that "it is quite

possible..that teachers have a lot more to learn than the weans".

Low's study (1974) of why (at that time more than now) Scots dialects received no acknowledgement from the education system found that the answer lay in ignorance. Parents, teachers and pupils alike refused to accept Scots as a language variety and he puts this down to the fact that social notions of the Scots dialects have deemed them so ugly and corrupt that their historical status and independence from all forms of English have been forgotten. Low (1974:25) writes in this study:

Scots does not have social status and until it regains social status very little can be done in the schools. Parents from all walks of life are essentially middle-class in their attitude to Scots and even people who pride themselves on being democratic in other fields - political, economic, literary - just do not believe that Scots is a proper language, despite the fact that it has been the linguistic medium of great poetry, great stories and great novels, and has been used in everyday life by ordinary Scots folk for centuries.

Low has a good point here, though his claim that Scots is a "proper language" must be seen as questionable, as there is on-going debate (eg., Kay (1988), McClure (1988)) about what constitutes a 'proper language', and general agreement that Scots is not linguistically distinct enough to be considered a full language independent of all forms of English.

Low's statement does, however, summarise what the problems associated with the teaching of Scots are and why they occur, but claiming that until Scots has social status generally the schools will be unable to teach Scots formally and understand fully the difficulties dialect speakers face with the use of English, seems to be an easy way of avoiding the whole complicated issue of how to teach Scots and tolerate the use of Scots dialects in the schools. Surely any reclaiming of social status should start with the schools (via government policy). In this way the education system could, rather than wait for the blessing of society to teach a subject, allow society to learn from it thus challenging the social assumptions imposed on Scots dialect. In short, it is only through education that the Scots dialects stand any chance of gaining social status (see Chapter 6).

The official acceptance of Scots and the formal teaching which would be associated with that should not, however, be at the expense of the teaching of English. English is the medium for communication throughout the native-English-speaking world, and often beyond. With the expansion of the European Community, education in Scotland must not put Scottish people at a disadvantage by advocating that the tolerance and teaching of the Scots language and dialects be at the expense of the teaching of SSE. The Scottish people on both sides of the

Highland line should be taught to write, speak and fully understand Standard English in order that they may be able to use it fluently. Therefore, Low's (somewhat parochially phrased) question: "Is it still true that the Scottish lads o'pairts have to forget their Gaelic or drop their Lallans, leave off Scotticisms and the Scottish accent whether Highland or Lowland in order to fit into positions of authority in the UK and abroad?" (Low 1974:18) must be answered 'yes' (though not in the case of those who use English with a Scottish accent). In order to compete in the international market it is vital that Scottish people are able to call upon a language which is internationally understood. It is, then, the duty of the Scottish education system to ensure that all pupils have the opportunity to learn to use SSE in order that they can take part in the international market. Therefore, in the same way that Scottish education should not alienate dialect speakers from the institutions of authority, conversely, it should not alienate the Scot from the rest of the world (see §6.1 and §6.5, further).

It is thus important for the Scottish education system to acknowledge the need for both acceptance and tolerance of the dialects as well as fully maintaining the teaching of English in order that Scottish people do not become linguistically and through this, economically and socially, separate from the rest of the world leaving

them disadvantaged when placed in the context of international employment and advancement (as well as employment within Scotland which, in dealing with other parts of the world (and other areas of Scotland itself), require knowledge of English).

What is necessary in Scottish schools today is a teaching programme which includes English, but pays full respect to the use of the Scots dialects. The traditional scenario of the Scottish person being reticent when invited to speak publicly should be eradicated since frequently the person's fear of getting his or her language 'wrong' can lead to him or her remaining silent when he or she could have had something both relevant and informative to say. As Trudgill (1974(b):33) writes:

We should...encourage children in Scottish schools to speak their native dialects, whether they be middle class Edinburgh, working class Glaswegian, rural Berwickshire, or West Highland without fear of reprimand or correction, in the hope that they will thereby become fluent and articulate speakers who concentrate on what they are saying rather than how they are saying it.

The other danger in the teaching of Scots and subjects pertaining to the Scottish situation generally is that it should not be regarded by teachers or those being taught as a nationalistic reference. The teaching of Scots in Scottish schools should not be a vehicle for any type of political statement as this has no place in the

classroom, and the aim should be to broaden Scottish education rather than narrow or parochialise it. Also, it is often too easy to become sentimental and focus on rural and pastoral eighteenth century Scots poetry. As McHardy (1993) reported:

The intention is to avoid a historical approach to Scots and to make the children aware that it is their own language and culture they are studying.

This is very important in maintaining interest in things Scottish as the modern day child (particularly in urban areas) may not identify with either the language or culture of the past, though it may interest him or her if well presented. In this way, while there must always be space to teach Scots from a historical point of view (as it is important that pupils learn the history and development of the language) teachers should not ignore the existence of modern Scots dialect literature, urban and rural. The modern day child lives in an international climate of scientific and technological advancement and, in order for benefits to be gained from his education it has to prepare him or her for employment in some modern sphere rather than alienate that pupil on the basis of speech. A great deal of work has been done very recently, and these most recent initiatives on the teaching of Scots-related topics in the schools will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Trudgill's (1974(b):33) claim that "it is the attitudes that should be changed and not the

dialects" is as relevant in the 1990's as in the 1970's, if not more so. Scottish education should focus on educating Scottish people for life today, and not act as a disadvantage by imposing insecurity (linguistic and otherwise) on the huge number of pupils whose potential in the employment market might surpass their command of the English language.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH:

PRELIMINARIES

3. SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

The following three chapters detail the Community Sample of the present study. This Sample makes up the sociolinguistic study of Glasgow and Edinburgh, as outlined in §1.1 (the comparative study of education is detailed further in Chapters 6 and 7). This chapter will describe the preliminaries to the sociolinguistic research ie., the informants selected and the questionnaire used in this sample.

3.1 THE INFORMANTS AND SELECTION PROCEDURE

A total of sixty-four informants was used in this sample, the Community Sample, thirty-two from Glasgow, and thirty-two from Edinburgh. Each group of thirty-two informants represented equally both genders, four age groups, and four socio-economic groups (see §1.7 for a discussion of the importance of equal representation of informants).

The four age groups used were: Those aged 18 - 30

31 - 45

46 - 59

60 +

The age groups were intended to be broad, and represent roughly, four generations of Scottish people. Results were compared on the basis of age group of the informants

in order to investigate recent linguistic change, any difference of attitudes towards Scots-dialect speech, and experience of education in Scotland regarding the spoken dialects and Scottish literature (see §1.7 for a discussion on sociolinguistic comparison of age-groups).

The socio-economic groups were determined in such a way as to be as fair a representation of socio-economic status as possible (see §1.7). In order to do this informants were classed in one of four categories. These, in turn, were based on four criteria according to which informants were given a total score (see further below).

1. Employment of the informant
2. Formal education received by the informant
3. Type of housing the informant lives in
4. The area (of Glasgow or Edinburgh) the informant lives in.

These categories will be dealt with individually.

1. Employment of the informant.

Employment statistics used by government and marketing companies use the classifications A, B, C1, C2, D, and E. Broadly speaking, these break-down as:

- A - Professional and semi-professional people in senior positions, and those who are in charge of a large number of staff eg., a general practitioner

with his or her own practice;

- B - Professional and semi-professional people in less senior positions, and those who are in charge of less members of staff than those classified in group A eg., a junior medical practitioner ie., recently qualified;
- C1- Non-professional white-collar workers, and skilled non-manual workers eg., a state-enrolled nurse;
- C2- Skilled manual workers, and those with non-professional qualifications eg., a hairdresser;
- D - Semi-skilled or unskilled workers, and those without vocational skills eg., an auxiliary nurse;
- E - "Those at the lowest level of subsistence whose needs the social security schemes are specially intended to cover", and those in unskilled casual employment for less than eight hours per week eg., unemployed.

(System Three Scotland 1984:4-13)

This type of classification of employment is used by most professional poll-makers in Britain, and is used to represent the socio-economic group of respondents. For the present purposes this classification method was used, but alone it is not sophisticated enough to cater for linguistic research, as discussed earlier at §1.7. This employment scale was, therefore, used in conjunction with a further three criteria in order to

give a much more specific socio-economic grading system than one based on employment only. An extreme example of the extent to which employment classification as the sole means of determining socio-economic status can mislead is as follows:

A young shop assistant is classified as being a member of socio-economic group D, using this method. She has, however, been privately educated, passed five SCE Highers, and thinks that she might go to university one day if she does not get married. She lives in a opulent suburb with her parents, in their privately owned detached villa, and stands to inherit a considerable sum because her mother is a solicitor and her father is a dentist, and they both own their own practices.

This might seem to be an unlikely scenario, but it does highlight the potential drawbacks of basing a person's socio-economic group on the criterion of their employment only. For the purposes of a sociolinguistic investigation this would be useless, as this informant's speech would be expected to be representative of a social group much higher than group D, and would seriously compromise the validity of any results which depended on her speech being indicative of social group D. For this sociolinguistic study, therefore, each informant was given points according to their employment classification, and these points were added to those calculated according to other criteria to obtain a final

score.

The points system where employment is concerned is:

<u>Employment Group</u>	<u>Points</u>
A or B	2
C1 or C2	1
D or E	0

2. Formal education undergone by the informant.

Points were attributed to an informant on the basis of his/her formal education, and these were added to those allocated according to the other criteria to make up that informant's final score.

The points system is:

<u>Education attained</u>	<u>Points</u>
Degree	3
Professional qualifications other than a degree	2
SOED/SED Highers or equivalent	1
SOED/SED Standard or 'O'Grades, equivalent, or less	0

Where a person had attained, for example, 'O'Grades as well as Highers, the points attributed to that informant were those for the higher educational qualification.

3. Type of housing the informant lives in.

Points were attributed to an informant on the basis of the type and tenure of the house he or she lived in, as

follows:

<u>Type of housing</u>	<u>Points</u>
Owner occupied and worth more than £35,000	3
Owner occupied and worth less than £35,000, or privately rented	2
House purchased from the local authority	1
House rented from the local authority or a housing association	0

4. Area the informant lives in.

Informants were given points based on the area of Glasgow or Edinburgh that they live in. Each area was given points which were attributed to that informant and added to the points obtained from the other criteria. The points per area were based on population figures and census information provided by Lothian Regional Council Planning Department's 1991 Census Factsheet for the City of Edinburgh (1991), and Strathclyde Regional Council Policy, Research and Information Group's 1991 Census Profile for Glasgow South East, Glasgow South, Glasgow South West and Eastwood District (1993).

The points system was:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Points</u>
Composed of a large percentage of owner occupied property, a small percentage of unemployment, a small number of occupants per household.	3
Composed of a large percentage of owner occupied property and privately rented accommodation, a	

small percentage of unemployment, a small number of occupants per household. 2

Composed of a small percentage of owner occupied property, a large percentage of privately rented accommodation, some local authority housing, a relatively large percentage of unemployment. 1

Composed of a large percentage of local authority housing, a large percentage of unemployment, a relatively large number of occupants per household. 0

NB. Potentially contentious phrases such as "a small percentage of unemployment" and "a relatively large number of occupants per household" are intended to mean 'as they compare with statistics for the region as a whole'.

The Final Score

The final scores were classified into four social groups as such:

<u>Points</u>	<u>Social Group</u>
9 - 11	1
6 - 8	2
3 - 5	3
0 - 2	4

Though no socio-economic classification system can claim to be absolute, particularly in these times of both upward and downward social mobility, using a four point index does give a classification broad enough for analysis and comparison. This is particularly true for linguistic research as linguistic variation can only be

understood in terms of overall trends rather than idiolects.

Results obtained from informants were collated with the criteria gender, age group and social group, but there were no comparisons made on the basis of sub-groups, as there was an insufficient number of informants in each sub-group for this purpose (see §1.7 for the problems associated with sub-division of informants). For example, each group of informants of a specific age-group, social-group and gender was represented by only one informant. This does not devalue the study. As Guy (1974:44) suggests:

too finely subdividing the data, by limiting the scope to individuals and multiplying the number of environments is inherently self-defeating. Patterns and regularities are obscured by such a procedure rather than revealed. Such a procedure maximises error as it minimises cell size.

This sociolinguistic investigation is, therefore, concerned only with comparing trends and tendencies of pre-defined socio-economic groups of informants in order to give an account of the sociolinguistic situation in each of these groups in Edinburgh and Glasgow, linguistic diversity between these two cities, the two genders, and the four age groups.

3.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire used for the community samples in Edinburgh and Glasgow is shown below. Each question and corresponding responses and results are dealt with individually throughout the next three chapters.

COMMUNITY SAMPLE: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you like living in Edinburgh/Glasgow?
2. As a person who's lived in Edinburgh/Glasgow for as long as you have, do you think that your speech differs from that of people in England, Ireland and Wales?
3. In what way do you think it differs?
4. Do you think that your speech makes you sound Scottish?
5. Do you think that you speak differently from people in other parts of Scotland?
6. If you could live in any other part of Edinburgh, where would you most like to live?
7. Why?
8. What do you think of the way you speak?
9. Would you be comfortable speaking to a group of people, or for example making a speech?
10. Can and do you change the way you speak depending on who you are speaking to?
11. On what basis do you change your speech?
12. Would you speak the same way with your friends and family as now to me?
13. In your opinion, is there a difference between the way a doctor and a labourer speak?
14. What is the difference?

15. Who of the two, if either, would you like to speak like?
16. Why?
17. What do you think of the accents of the following people?
 - a) Prince Charles
 - b) Sean Connery
 - c) Cilla Black
 - d) Margaret Thatcher
 - e) Rab C. Nesbitt
 - f) Viv Lumsden
18. Out of this list, whose speech do you like most?
19. Why?
20. Was your speech ever corrected in school?
21. Do you remember anyone's speech being corrected when you were at school?
22. Was your speech ever corrected by your parents when you were a child?
23. In what way? Any examples?
24. Did you do English at school?
25. To what level?
26. What were you taught in English classes?
27. Did you ever do any literature in Scots?
28. Do you think the spelling of English reflects the way you speak?
29. Do you think that the spelling in the poem on the card reflects your speech?
30. Why / Why not?
31. Were you encouraged to speak in class at school?
32. Are you proud to be Scottish?
33. Why?
34. What are the languages of Scotland?
35. Do you, or do you know anyone who can speak Gaelic?

36. What language did Robert Burns write in?
37. How is this different from English? / The English we speak today?
38. Can you tell me if you have heard of any of these writers and if you have read anything they have written?

- a) Hugh MacDiarmid
- b) John Steinbeck
- c) Tom Leonard READ
- d) William Shakespeare OR
- e) Lewis Grassie Gibbon KNOW OF
- f) Ian Fleming
- g) Clifford Hanley
- h) Jackie Collins

39. What do these words mean and do you ever use them?
- A. SKELF (Glasgow) SPAIL (Edinburgh) ESE: *splinter*
 - B. KEN (verb) ESE: *know*
 - C. COUP (verb and noun) ESE: *fall over (verb), fall / bin (noun)*
 - D. CLOSE (noun) ESE: *alleyway / tenement or entrance to a tenement*
 - E. GAED (verb past tense) ESE: *went (literally 'goed')*
 - F. CHUM (verb) ESE: *accompany*
 - G. KEEK (verb) ESE: *peek*
 - H. SORE HEAD ESE: *more usually 'headache'*
 - I. FEART (adjective and noun) ESE: *frightened (adjective), coward (noun)*
 - J. CHECK (verb) ESE: *reprimand*
 - K. SWITHER (verb) ESE: *hesitate, waver*
 - L. CLYPE (verb and noun) ESE: *tell tales (verb), tell-tale (noun)*
 - M. BACHLE (Glasgow) BAUCHLE (Edinburgh) (noun) ESE: *old woman / shoe*
 - N. RANCE (noun or verb) ESE: *wooden door brace (noun), brace a door (verb)*
 - O. SKLIFF/SKLOOF (noun or verb) ESE: *segment / shoe (noun), slice / scuff (verb)*
 - P. HAAR (noun) ESE: *sea mist (usually specifically East Coast)*
 - Q. BAUKS (noun) ESE: *church gallery*
 - R. BUROO (noun) ESE: *DSS, labour exchange etc.*
 - S. SLAG (noun) ESE: *clumsy person*
 - T. GREET (verb) ESE: *cry*
 - U. STANK (Glasgow) SIVER (Edinburgh) (noun) ESE: *street drain / gutter*

40. Do you think of these words as being Scottish?
41. Do you think that you would use any (other) words that an English person would not?
42. Any examples?

43. Do you ever say:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| A. HAME instead of HOME | H. AW instead of ALL |
| B. HOOSE " " HOUSE | I. GIE " " GIVE |
| C. STAWN " " STAND | J. HAUNIL " " HANDLE |
| D. EFTER " " AFTER | K. BLIN " " BLIND |
| E. BOAX " " BOX | L. DINNA " " DON'T |
| F. WATTER " " WATER | M. THE DAY " " TODAY |
| G. FIT " " FOOT | N. HEID " " HEAD |

44. Some of the sentences might be wrong. What, if anything do you think is incorrect?

- A. HE WENT TO THE PARK.
- B. I NEVER HAD ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY THE BILL ON TUES.
- C. WHAT LIKE WAS SHE AT THE SINGING?
- D. I SEEN A MAN THAT NEEDED HIS CAR WASHED.
- E. DO YOU NEED TO GO?
- F. THEY CAKES WAS AWFUL DEAR.
- G. SHE GOT TEN POUND OFF OF HER MOTHER.
- H. HE MIGHT COULD ENJOY THE PARTY.
- I. CAN I HAVE A BISCUIT?
- J. HOW DID YOU NOT GO DOWN THE SHOPS FIRST?

3.2.1 PURPOSE OF THE COMMUNITY SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire intended for the sample of informants from the community was designed in an attempt to obtain information about the general feelings of people from Glasgow and Edinburgh about their speech, and about their attitudes towards other speech varieties spoken in each of these cities and in Scotland as a whole. In addition to this it sought to establish, to some degree at least, the extent to which Scots dialect items (phonological, lexical and grammatical) are used by the people of Glasgow and Edinburgh, as well as the extent to which sociolinguistic variation occurs, and which social

conditions prompt it. The questionnaire also gave the informants the opportunity to relate their experiences of school, particularly their recollections about the school's treatment of and attitude towards both the language of its pupils and its teaching of the English and Scots languages.

Broadly, then, the questionnaire was designed to obtain information about:

- a) The language varieties spoken in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the extent to which stylistic variation occurs;
- b) The social differentiation of language use in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the relationship this has to learned attitudes towards different speech varieties;
- c) The role the education system has had in shaping attitudes towards different language varieties, and its attitude towards the teaching of the Scots and English languages to predominantly Scots-dialect speakers, predominantly SSE speakers, and the majority, who fall between the two extremes.

The purpose of investigating the linguistic situation in Glasgow and Edinburgh in terms of points a) and b) includes the investigation of when and in which circumstances stylistic and/or social variation of language use occurs and, most importantly, which linguistic features this concerns.

As Labov (1972(a)) observed, some linguistic features are subject to social and stylistic variation or accommodation while others are not. He divides linguistic forms into what he calls 'markers' and 'indicators', contending that markers are those features which are subject to social and stylistic variation while indicators are those which are subject to social-class variation only. Thus, only markers are affected when accommodation occurs on the basis of the context the speaker finds him or herself in. In this way, as when what Brown and Levinson (1987) call 'positive' or 'negative politeness' (see §1.3) occurs only markers are altered in the speech of the 'accommodator'. As Giles (1973) points out this also happens when an individual directs his or her speech away from that of the hearer as an act of disassociation (Giles calls this 'accent divergence' while his term for positive politeness accommodation is 'accent convergence'). The aim of investigating this type of stylistic variation in the present study is to attempt to determine what features of Edinburgh and Glasgow speech are markers and which are indicators. Trudgill (1986) contends that it is salience which distinguishes markers from indicators, that is to say that markers are those features of speech which are known to be indicative of a specific non-standard language form because "markers are relatively high in a

speaker's consciousness, as compared to indicators" (Trudgill 1986:10). As such, this study will look at which features of Glasgow and Edinburgh speech are markers, and are thus subject to change during stylistic variation and which are indicators, which are not. Trudgill (1986:11) contends that salience arises as a result of one of four factors. These are:

1. That the linguistic feature is overtly stigmatised;
2. That the linguistic feature is currently undergoing change;
3. That the linguistic feature is phonetically radically different from the standard form;
4. That the linguistic feature is "involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts" ie,. distinguishes a minimal pair.

This is relevant to this study because almost all features of Scots speech (by definition), and an extremely high number of features of Scottish Standard English speech are subject to at least one of these four points (particularly point 3 in the case of Scots).

The interviews were all tape-recorded. This was to ensure that the informants' real answers were documented. This allows for less human error such as the researcher's spur-of-the-moment interpretation of an answer, or a

misquote due to the researcher writing everything down very quickly and in note form. In addition, tape-recording the interviews seemed more appropriate if the informant was expected to converse on matters arising from the questionnaire with the researcher, as although the use of tape-recording equipment has been shown to worsen the problems associated with the interview situation (see §1.3), it does allow for normal interaction, albeit observed interaction, with the informant. Also the researcher can avoid the distraction of writing down everything the informant says, and appearing to be more of an academic phenomenon than a fellow human being. The intention of the interview was, therefore, to allow the informant to answer the questions as fully as he or she wanted to, and to make the process as informal as possible. To further aid this, the questionnaire was designed in such a way as to begin with general questions about speech, general questions about either Glasgow or Edinburgh, and general questions about Scotland. This is because these are subjects most people are not unfamiliar with, and they showed that the interview was not about giving 'right' or 'wrong' answers, or, in some way, making the informant appear unintelligent. Later, once rapport had been established, the questionnaire moved on to issues more specific to the aims of the research.

All of the informants were selected at random, after the initial selection procedure (see §3.1). Most of the interviews were carried out in the informants' homes or, exceptionally, in the home of a friend or the informant's work-place. This technique follows the example set by most professional market research companies, as it is believed that an informant will be most comfortable in a familiar environment, and, thus, more likely to give fuller and more honest information. Approaching informants in a random, door-to-door way also meant that information was not obtained only from people who have a specific interest in the subject of the study. If informants had been found by advertising for them there would have been a far greater likelihood of those informants being people who have a specific interest in and/or knowledge of Scots language, and this could have compromised the results.

Without doubt the fact that I was young and female made me appear to be unintimidating and this assisted the research, as did the fact that I am neither a full SSE speaker nor a dialect speaker, but rather, like most people, I am somewhere in between (see §1.5 for a discussion of the importance of the appearance of the researcher). Despite this, however, as one would expect, some interviews were more successful than others, in that some people appeared to be completely unaffected by the

fact that they were engaging in a tape-recorded interview with a complete stranger, and spoke at great length with little or no inhibition, while others were so intimidated by the whole situation that they gave only short, fast, and in some cases, mainly monosyllabic answers to the questions. This latter, worst-case type of interview does not seem, however, to have had a particularly adverse effect on the outcome of the research as, due to the fact that no matter how unintimidating one tries to be, the empirical evidence (eg., Labov (1972), Macaulay (1977)) suggests that in most cases interview situations do tend to inhibit casual speech to some extent. The questionnaire was designed also to elicit information about what the informant believed to be his or her usual speech style. It did not in any way presume that the speech recorded would be the informant's most usual style (see §1.3). Recording the interviews did, however, prove to be beneficial, not only as a means of obtaining as much information as possible, but it also allowed some kind of objective check on an informant's actual usage compared to his/her subjective evaluation of it. The relative subjectivity or objectivity of informants' attitudes towards Scots and English in Glasgow and Edinburgh could also be gauged. Even though the circumstances were such that only a relatively formal speech style could be recorded, it was often the case that an informant would use a variable during the course

of the interview which they, in fact, denied using generally when asked about it specifically. This was most apparent in the question about the use of aw [ɔ], for 'all' (Question 43), mainly due to the fact that this word was often used throughout the interviews by the informants (see §5.2.6).

3.2.2 ESTABLISHING INFORMALITY AND CONVERSATION

Several of the items in the questionnaire were included not for their direct importance to the results, but rather for their indirect effect on those being questioned. As stated above in §3.2.1, the validity of any results is enhanced by the premise that informants are more likely to speak at length and more honestly if they are relatively relaxed in the situation. In this way, the less intimidated an informant feels the less likely he or she is to give short, fast responses to questions in order for the interview to be finished quickly and the uncomfortable interview situation over and done with. Also, the less nervous the informant is, the more likely he is to state his own opinions and beliefs more honestly, rather than those which he thinks the interviewer expects, or wants to hear.

The questions which were included more as a means of introducing the subject, and promoting conversation were:

Question 1. Do you like living in Edinburgh? / Glasgow?

Question 6. If you could live anywhere else in Edinburgh / Glasgow where would you most like to live?

Question 8. What do you think of the way you speak?

In the case of some interviewees, due to shyness, etc. it was clear from the outset that they were going to be reticent, so often when this was the case some of these questions were omitted, as were some probing questions eg., "why?", which followed some of the other queries which were more relevant to the research (see §3.2.3).

3.2.3 PROBING QUESTIONS

Probing questions such as Question 3: "In what way do you think it differs?" were designed as a tool for extracting as much information as possible about the response to the preceding question, and to encourage conversation for the reasons outlined in §2.3.2 above. In cases where the informant was reticent, and was showing no signs of relaxing, this type of probing question was omitted.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE USE IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH:

ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

4. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will deal with those questions asked in the Community Sample which are not strictly linguistic. Instead, they investigate informants' opinions about language use in Lowland Scotland (and Britain as a whole), stylistic variation, the social variation of language use, and experience of language in schools. Each of these issues will be dealt with individually.

4.1 ESTABLISHING GROUP IDENTITY

Question 32. Are you proud to be Scottish?
--

As discussed earlier a fundamental part of sociolinguistic variation in Lowland Scotland is its position as regards group identity (see §2.1.4 and §3.3). The usual situation in Britain is that RP is the prestige form aspired to by the middle classes in society, though there are exceptions eg., Kerswill's (1987) study of Durham found that the prestige form was a local speech variety rather than RP. In Scotland the prestige form is SSE, with the exception of the highest social class who traditionally tend to have associations with England and English ideology (see §2.2). The Scottish tendency to have SSE as the prestige form is attributable, Aitken

(1984(b):527) claims, to "dialect loyalty". This is where Scottish people of all social classes identify themselves as such through their language use. The Scots dialects are often used by the lower classes for the same reason ie., they identify themselves with their social class through their speech (this has also been documented for speech varieties other than Scottish ones eg., Milroy (1980) found this in Belfast). The Scottish situation is peculiar in that while the common sociolinguistic phenomenon of self-identification as a member of the lower classes through speech occurs, so does the other, rarer phenomenon of identification as a Scot by all social classes (except some people of the highest) through speech (ie., SSE). Thus, in Scotland there occurs the displaying of national, local, and class identity simultaneously through language use by most speakers.

In an attempt to test Aitken's claim about 'dialect loyalty' several items in the questionnaire asked about membership of and loyalty to Glasgow or Edinburgh specifically, and to Scotland as a whole, in order to establish whether or not people displayed loyalty to these concepts. The questions which asked this were:

Question 2. Do you think your speech differs from that of people in England, Ireland and Wales?

Question 4: Do you think your speech makes you sound Scottish?

These questions were designed to establish whether or not, and to what extent informants are aware that their speech identifies them as being Scottish, in order to determine whether or not group loyalty through language use is applicable in the Glasgow and Edinburgh situations.

All of the informants from both Edinburgh and Glasgow claimed that they do think that their speech differs from that of people in other (non Scottish) parts of Britain, and that it makes them sound Scottish. Through this we can see that all of the informants regard their speech as identifying them as Scottish.

<p>Question 5. Do you think your speech differs from that of people in other parts of Scotland?</p>
--

This question was asked for reasons similar to Questions 2 and 4, in that it was intended to establish whether or not informants are aware of regional variation within Scotland, and whether or not they believe that there is an accent peculiar to either Glasgow or Edinburgh. This is particularly important in the case of Edinburgh dialect because while Glasgow dialect has been acknowledged by both linguists and media, there is relatively little documentation about an Edinburgh equivalent. This question was intended, therefore, to

investigate the extent to which the people of Edinburgh (and particularly those who use dialect-speech) perceive the existence of a specific Edinburgh dialect.

All of the Edinburgh informants, in fact, claimed that their speech differs from that of people in other parts of Scotland, showing that they, at least, are aware of the fact that there is a variety of speech specific to Edinburgh. Similarly, all but one of the Glasgow informants claimed that their speech differs from that of people in other parts of Scotland, thus showing that they are aware of the existence of a language variety peculiar to Glasgow.

<p>Question 15. Who of the two, if either, would you like to speak like?</p>
--

Questions 13 and 14 asked the informant if there is a difference between the way a doctor and a labourer speak, and are discussed fully in §4.3 (awareness of social variation in language use). Question 15 moves on from Questions 13 and 14 in that it asks the informant which of the two stereotypes (ie., doctor or labourer) he or she would like to speak like, if either.

This question was asked once it had been established that the informant was aware of the social variation of language based on the two stereotypes offered as

examples. If the informant did suggest that one typically spoke an approximation of SSE, while the other an approximation of dialect based language, then the informant was asked which of the two he or she would prefer to speak like, if either. This question established which social group each informant feels most loyalty to, and, indeed, whether the lower classes in Glasgow and Edinburgh could, in fact, be expected to display loyalty to their social group through language use.

From the Edinburgh sample, only two out of the thirty-two informants claimed that they would prefer to speak like a labourer, and of these two one is a female from Social Group 2 and the other is a male from Social Group 4. The remaining thirty Edinburgh informants were split equally between preferring to speak like a doctor (ie., the SSE prestige form), or neither the doctor nor the labourer (ie., showing no identification with a social group at either of the two extremes through language use). Very different results were obtained from the Glasgow sample (see Graph 2).

If we ignore the responses from both Glasgow and Edinburgh which claim that the informant would not particularly like to speak like either of the given stereotypes (a response given by around half of all the

informants) we can see the difference that exists in the practice of identifying oneself as a member of a social group through language use in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Graph 1 shows that more of the Edinburgh informants who did specify a preference tended to want to speak like a doctor rather than a labourer, and this was the case for informants from all four of the social groups, both genders and all age groups. The results are shown in terms of social group.

Graph 1.



Graph 2, which shows the Glasgow informants' results for the same question, shows that while those in the two higher social groups would prefer to speak like a doctor, those in the lowest social group would, conversely prefer to speak like a labourer, and those in Social Group 3 (the second lowest group) are equally split between the two stereotypes.

Graph 2.

When we compare Graph 1 with Graph 2 we can see that the results obtained in this study suggest that identification with social group through language use does occur in Glasgow, and occurs to a far greater extent there than it does in Edinburgh.

4.2 EXISTENCE AND AWARENESS OF STYLISTIC VARIATION

Question 10. Can and do you change the way you speak depending on who you're speaking to?

Question 11. On what basis do you change your speech?

Questions 10 and 11 dealt with the subject of stylistic variation. They asked the informant if he or she uses different speech styles for different situations, and what prompts him or her to consider one specific style to

be more appropriate in a particular situation than another.

Stylistic variation occurs in all varieties of British English, and has been documented by linguists such as Aitken (1979), Macafee (1984), Cheshire (1982). In most cases this variation is between a more Standard-English-based speech and a more dialect-based speech depending on a person's starting point on the linguistic continuum (see Fig 12, also at §1.3).

FIG 12.

LINGUISTIC CONTINUUM

```
dialect <-----> Standard English
informal                formal
```

Usually a formal situation (eg., a one-to-one interview) prompts a person to use the most Standard based language he or she is capable of. An informal situation usually prompts a person to use his or her most casual speech.

When a person's starting point on the linguistic continuum (ie., his or her most usual speech) is Standard English the extent of stylistic variation displayed by that person is reduced, if it occurs at all. This is due to that person not having to change his or her speech style in order to make it more appropriate for a formal

situation, as it is this style that is most used, and most natural to him or her anyway.

The Scottish situation is, however, more complicated than most in that while speech is subject to stylistic variation in the same way that it is for most speakers of British-English, at the bottom end of the linguistic continuum in Lowland Scotland it is not an English but a Scots, dialect which exists. This means that somewhere on the linguistic continuum a dialect speaker can move from a Scots-based language to an English-based language. This is not a particularly difficult thing for most Scots dialect speakers to achieve as all Scottish people have at least a passive knowledge of the English language ie., are able to understand it. This familiarity with English is achieved by the vast exposure most people have to it through the schools and the media. The sustained use of SSE can, for some people, be difficult to achieve, however, because it requires a person who usually speaks a Scots dialect to concentrate on his speech, often at the expense of what he is actually saying (see §2.4 above). In addition to this, as Cheshire (1982:157) points out "where attention is directly focused on speech..does not consistently result in the use of fewer non-standard features", so a person will not necessarily be able to maintain his or her most formal speech style even when he or she is concentrating on that entirely. In

this case the media are of no benefit as it is a well-documented observation that while TV and radio can have a lexical or idiomatic influence they are not responsible for any major phonological or grammatical influence on their audiences because as Trudgill (1986:40) points out, "the point about the TV set is that people, however much they watch and listen to it, do not talk to it...with the result that no accommodation takes place". ('Accommodation' here refers to what Trudgill (1986:39) calls "long-term accommodation" ie., the permanent effect of language/dialect contact on the speech of an individual (see §1.3, §2.3 and §3.2.2)).

In this study all but three informants claimed that they are able to, and do, change the way they speak depending on the situation they are in. The answers to the question about the basis on which informants change their speech show the extent to which this practice is perceived by speakers as being attributable to what linguists would call stylistic variation. Unsurprisingly none of the informants actually used the term 'stylistic variation', but answers such as that given by Edinburgh Informant 'T' (male, 18-30, social group 4) who asserted that he changes the way he speaks when in the company of "some-one new, posh, and if I go for an interview or something" were considered to be a strong indication of its perceived existence. Many informants associated the

telephone with their perceived changes in speaking eg.,
Edinburgh Informant 'Q' (female, 31-45, social group 2):

I think I've got a different telephone voice. I think everybody automatically tries to speak more clearly on the telephone.

Because upon answering the telephone it is (usually) impossible to know who is calling, and the telephone itself acts as an inhibitor of very casual speech, the language variety used for answering the telephone tends to be one which is more formal than a person's usual speech style. For these reasons communicating via telephone is just one of the many occasions that compel people to stylistic variation. Most people will use a formal speech style for answering, and then depending on who it is that has telephoned them, will either continue to use that formal style (if it is a stranger, or a person with whom they usually converse using a formal style), or revert back to their casual speech (if it is someone they are very familiar with). Telephone use is the circumstance most noticed for prompting changes in a person's speech because it produces a most marked change. Telephone speech can be the most marked stimulus for stylistic variation because a speaker can go from using a very casual speech variety with his family, to a very formal one on the telephone (depending on who it is that telephoned him), and then once the telephone conversation is completed, he can revert back with almost subconscious

ease to his most casual speech as he resumes his chat with his family.

Fifty-seven of the total sixty-four informants stated that they were aware of the tendency to change the way they speak on the basis of who is being addressed. Answers which confirmed awareness of stylistic variation were split almost equally between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and as such show that the people of both Edinburgh and Glasgow are aware of stylistic variation and their own inclination towards it.

Several informants claimed that they change the way they speak in order for the hearer to understand them. This statement was intended by most of these informants to apply equally to the practice of speaking to foreign speakers and those whose usual language variety differs from that of him/herself. This type of statement was made by informants from all social classes, both genders and all age groups, and was always in reference to a language variety different from that used by the informant eg., in the case of those informants from the lower social groups the people who they believed would have trouble understanding them tended to be those of a higher social class than themselves, as well as those from other English speaking countries and non-English speaking countries. Interestingly, even a few informants from

Social Groups 1 and 2 professed to 'slowing down' or changing their speech in some other way in order that those who use a different regional speech variety can understand them. As Glasgow Informant 'I' (female, 60+, social group 2) whose usual speech variety is SSE with very few non-standard features attested:

Say you want to phone a home-shopping catalogue.
When you use their phone-line its usually in England
so you have to tone down your accent or they wouldn't
understand what you're saying.

It seems unlikely that speakers of an English form of English would have any real trouble understanding a Scottish 'Standard' English speaker, as exposure to spoken SSE through the media is not uncommon in England.

This concern about not being understood, which was stated by eighteen out of the sixty four informants in this study, seems to show how linguistic insecurity (see §1.8 and §2.4) can prompt stylistic variation for all Glasgow and Edinburgh speakers throughout the social class range.

As already mentioned only three out of the sixty four informants claimed that they never change the way they speak. It is of some interest that all three of these informants were in the 60+ age group (in fact they were all in their late 70's). One explanation for this could be that the older a person is the less likely he or she

is to display stylistic variation. Another explanation could be that the older a person is the less likely he or she is to **perceive** changes in his or her speech brought about by the usual causes of stylistic variation. As only three informants actually gave this response, however, neither of these statements (ie., that there is no stylistic variation, or that stylistic variation is not perceived) can be said to be categorical.

<p>Question 12. Would you speak the same way with your friends and family as now to me?</p>

This question was designed to do exactly what it says ie., it was included to test whether or not the informant was aware of the fact that he or she was not using his or her most usual speech style. This was based on the assumption that informants would not use their most casual speech because of the formality and unfamiliar nature of a tape-recorded interview with a stranger. The most surprising result of this question was the fact that several of the informants claimed that they were, in fact, speaking the same way to me as they would with their friends and family, and in the opinion of the researcher, actually sounded like they were too. This was surprising as other studies eg., Labov (1972:209), Milroy (1980:25) suggest that it is impossible to obtain true vernacular speech from an interview regardless of the lengths one goes to promote casual speech. The results of

this study have shown that while there is no doubt that obtaining vernacular speech from an interview is uncommon, it is not impossible, and depends entirely on the personalities of both the interviewer and the interviewee. In this study it is most likely that casual speech was obtained in some cases because of the fact that the researcher was young, female and Scottish (see §1.5 and §3.2.2). As the majority of the informants who appeared to be most relaxed during the interview were over the age of forty, the reason for their behaviour is most probably attributable to their desire to 'help out'.

Fifty-one of the sixty-four informants claimed that they were using their usual speech style for the duration of the interview. Despite the fact that some informants did appear to be entirely unaffected by the fact that they were participating in a tape-recorded interview, these people were not in the majority. The over all impression was that while many informants claimed that they were speaking in the same way as they would with their friends and family, a number of them were obviously mistaken. While it is impossible for a researcher to categorically state that an informant is not using his or her most usual speech style, the researcher can often identify features of an informant's speech which suggest that the speech being used for the interview is not the same as that which the informant uses most often. For example,

almost all of the informants used a more formal speech style at the beginning of the interview than that used at the end when they had become more confident and familiar with the situation. This was shown most notably by questions which require a yes/no answer. Many of the informants used the word *yes* as an affirmative response at the start of the interview, gradually introduced words such as *yeah*, *huh*, and *uhuh* throughout the interview, and included the use of *aye* only towards the end.

Only eleven out of the total number of informants admitted that they were not using the same speech style as they would with their friends and family. Only three out of these eleven informants were from Glasgow, and this could either suggest that Glaswegians tend not to display stylistic variation, or that they are less aware of it than people from Edinburgh. Another possible explanation is that they are less likely to admit to stylistic variation. It is probably most likely, however, that as the researcher is Glaswegian, there was a greater rapport between her and the informants from Glasgow than there was with those from Edinburgh.

Question 9. Would you be comfortable speaking to a group of people or, for example, making a speech?

This question was designed to establish whether an informant felt comfortable enough with his or her speech to speak publicly. In his study of Glasgow speech Macaulay (1977:132) states that Scottish people are known for their lack of confidence in their speech and he puts this down to 'linguistic insecurity' (Macaulay 1975). 'Linguistic insecurity' is a speaker's belief that his or her language is wrong in some way, and it can lead to a speaker being reticent rather than risk ridicule (or punishment in the case of school-children) for using the 'wrong' words or pronunciations (see §2.4 above). This occurs in all languages where a Standard variety has been adopted as the 'correct' form of the spoken language, and has been documented in speakers of non-standard varieties of English in England (eg., Trudgill (1974(b)), Cheshire (1984)). The exceptional thing about this phenomenon in Lowland Scotland is, however, that this kind of linguistic insecurity is not always restricted to the lowest classes who tend to use dialect most consistently, but can occur in people of all social classes due to their being speakers of a variety of English different from ESE (RP) (Trudgill 1974(b)). Also, it has to be noted that many people (regardless of language use) are just not comfortable with the idea of making a speech.

Thirty-seven of the sixty-four informants stated that they would not be comfortable speaking to a group of people or making a speech.

They can be split thus:

Fig. 13

	No. of informants		No. of informants
<i>Social Group 1</i>	4		
<i>Social Group 2</i>	9	<i>Male</i>	13
<i>Social Group 3</i>	12	<i>Female</i>	24
<i>Social Group 4</i>	12		
	----		----
Total	37		37
	----		----

	No. of Informants	
<i>Edinburgh</i>	14	No significant differences in terms of age groups.
<i>Glasgow</i>	23	

Total	37	

It can be said that extra-linguistic factors can explain the differences in informant numbers once split into their social groups and genders. For example it can be argued that less people in Social Group 1 are uncomfortable making a speech than those in the other social groups because those of a higher social class are more socially secure, have more confident role models, etc. Undoubtedly greater linguistic security is a factor, but it remains just one part of a complex set of social phenomena from which is impossible to detach linguistic insecurity. In much the same way extra-linguistic factors such as different ways in which girls

and boys are socialised as children, resulting in males generally being more primed to adopt dominant roles than women, can explain why out of the thirty-seven informants who would not be comfortable making a speech twenty-four were female as opposed to only thirteen males.

There is, however, no known extra-linguistic factor which makes people from one regional area shyer than those from another, and why only fourteen of the total number of informants who would be uncomfortable making a speech were from Edinburgh, while twenty-three were from Glasgow. If factors such as shyness, which are impossible to rationalise, are presumed constant and generally fixed, the results for Question 9 would seem to imply that linguistic insecurity exists to a greater extent in Glasgow than it does in Edinburgh. This suggestion is supported by the results for Question 8 which asked whether the informant likes his or her own accent. Only four Edinburgh informants claimed to dislike their accent, as opposed to ten Glasgow informants. The most plausible explanation for this discrepancy in the figures which relate to an informant's own feelings towards his or her speech would appear to be to do with the different ways in which people from Edinburgh and Glasgow perceive their speech.

Glasgow speech, and particularly Glasgow dialect, is subject to much criticism. It has been regarded as the speech of those "of the lowest state" (Menzies 1990:30). Throughout this century at least, Glasgow dialect has been regarded as ugly, inferior and indicative of low social status. While it is used by the media to portray humorous stereotypes, the reality for socially aspiring Glaswegians is that use of Glasgow dialect will inhibit their chances of success in almost any social circumstance. However, this can probably be said about any of the Scots dialects due to the general belief of many people that Scots in any form is debased English (see §2.1.4). The reason that these kinds of notions apply more strongly in Glasgow is that even in the 1990's Glasgow dialect is still associated with poor and socially lacking people. This stereotype is actually taken on with pride by some people who identify themselves as the working/under class (see §1.4.2 and §2.1.4 above, on Social Network Theory). Others regard it as a hindrance to upward social mobility, as the stereotype is so well known in Glasgow and elsewhere. As McArthur and Kingsley Long attest in their novel about Glasgow slum life in the 1920's, the Glasgow dialect is one of the most maligned in Britain, and "might be a fatal obstacle to advancement" (McArthur and Kingsley Long 1956:184).

In Glasgow, for those who regard Glasgow dialect as a social hindrance, linguistic insecurity is a very common trait, and is not restricted to the lower social classes. Linguistic insecurity has been documented as being a feature of all Scottish speech regardless of social class, because it is not ESE speech (see again §2.1.4). Thus, while the lower social groups display linguistic insecurity for the usual reasons (ie., their speech is perceived as being incorrect and indicative of lower social status), some Glaswegians from the higher social groups can still display signs of linguistic insecurity purely because their speech betrays them as being Glaswegian, regardless of social status.

Notoriety of this nature is not a feature of Edinburgh speech, and thus, there is less linguistic insecurity, particularly amongst those of the higher social groups. Linguistic insecurity does, of course, occur, and it is eloquently explained by Edinburgh Informant 'Q' (female, 31-45, social group 2) who claimed that she used to use Scots linguistic forms such as *hame* [hem] and *hoose* [hus] when she was younger, but has since refined her speech. When asked why she did this she replied thus:

I can actually remember when I stopped saying things like that. When I was fifteen I went to work in a law society and I can remember one of my bosses saying to me, 'some-one who looks as dignified as you do shouldn't be saying things like *hame*', and I remember, 'I better no say things like that in public', so that's probably when I stopped.

4.3 EXISTENCE AND AWARENESS OF THE SOCIAL VARIATION OF LANGUAGE USE

Question 13. In your opinion, is there a difference between the way an Edinburgh / Glasgow doctor and an Edinburgh / Glasgow labourer speak?

Question 14. What is the difference?

As suggested in §4.1 above, these questions offered the informant two linguistic stereotypes to comment on. As anticipated all of the informants identified the doctor as an SSE speaker and the labourer as a speaker of non-standard language. As the informants were not familiar with the study of linguistics they described the way the two stereotypes would speak in layman's terms.

Out of the sixty-four informants only four claimed that there is no significant difference between the way a doctor and a labourer speak. The majority of informants claimed that there is a difference. When asked what that difference is, most of the informants gave one of three explanations. Generally, these explanations were:

1. A doctor would speak 'properly', while a labourer would use 'slang'.
2. A doctor would have to think about his speech and choose his words carefully, while a labourer would just speak 'naturally'.
3. A non-value explanation, ie., they are different, but one is not better than the other.

This, in itself, is interesting as in Explanation 1 the labourer's speech is considered wrong, whereas in Explanation 2 it is not. Explanation 2 also suggests that the doctor would have to adopt an 'unnatural' speech variety, presumably at the expense of his 'natural' one.

The figures for responses to Questions 13 and 14 break down as in Fig. 14 and Graph 3:

Fig 14.

<u>Edinburgh v Glasgow</u>				
	<u>Explan 1</u>	<u>Explan 2</u>	<u>Explan 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Edinburgh	40%	27%	33%	100%
Glasgow	17%	13%	70%	100%

Graph 3.



Figure 14 and Graph 3 show that the results from this study suggest that notions of incorrect language appear

to prevail more in Edinburgh than they do in Glasgow, as substantially more Edinburgh informants gave Explanations 1 or 2 (ie., the labourer would use language which is inferior in some way to that of a doctor), than Explanation 3. Conversely more Glasgow informants gave a non-value explanation of the difference in the speech of the two stereotypes (Explanation 3) than anything else. These figures also show that while the contention that a labourer speaks more 'naturally' than a doctor is in the minority in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, this minority is significantly greater in Edinburgh than in Glasgow. This seems to suggest that value judgements about speech are more common in Edinburgh than they are in Glasgow.

Splitting these results in accordance with informants' social groups, age groups and genders shows no significant trends. It, therefore, appears that there is no group of people in either city who are more likely to perceive the social variation of language use in terms of 'good' and 'bad' than another.

<p>Question 17. What do you think of the accents of the following people?</p>
--

This question, in effect, asked informants whether or not they liked different, socially-differentiated speech varieties. The examples given to the informants break down as such:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) Prince Charles | RP speaker |
| b) Sean Connery | SSE speaker (Edinburgh) |
| c) Cilla Black | Non-standard English speaker |
| d) Margaret Thatcher | RP speaker |
| e) Rab C. Nesbitt | Scots (Glasgow) dialect speaker |
| f) Viv Lumsden | SSE speaker (Glasgow). |

Because it is often impossible to separate one's feelings about a celebrity from ones feelings about the way they speak (and this was mentioned by most of the informants) as often a celebrity's accent is his or her 'trade-mark', each category (RP, SSE, Non-standard) had two examples. In the cases of the two Non-standard examples, one example was based on an English variety, and one on a Scots variety. In the case of Non-standard Scots the sample speaker, Rab C. Nesbitt, was, for the Edinburgh study, unfortunate as the variety of Non-standard Scots in question here is a strong Glasgow dialect which could be said to be inappropriate for a study of Edinburgh due to the traditional rivalry said to exist between the two cities. This was, however, unavoidable as there is no equivalent well-known speaker of Edinburgh dialect at this time.

Major differences between the way informants from Edinburgh and informants from Glasgow perceive other people's language use were suggested by the responses to

Question 17. While all but six informants in Glasgow claimed to dislike the way Prince Charles speaks, twelve of the Edinburgh informants said that they either like or don't mind the way he speaks. As the term 'posh' was used by several of these informants, this result would seem to suggest that informants from Glasgow tend to regard what they consider to be 'posh' with distaste, while those from Edinburgh do not tend to see 'posh' as a despicable trait. The results for informants' perceptions of Margaret Thatcher's speech appear to affirm this contention as while only one Glasgow informant claimed to have anything but dislike for her accent, six Edinburgh informants said they either like or do not mind it.

The tendency of Glasgow informants to dislike the accents of those who are in a seemingly superior social position is most firmly shown by the results for attitudes towards Viv Lumsden's speech. From the Edinburgh sample, only one informant claimed to dislike her speech, but for the Glasgow sample nine informants stated that they felt this way, and this was mainly put down to the fact that they believe her accent to be 'fake' ie., she apes the speech of those of a higher social class in order to appear to be of superior social status.

This appears, on first sight, to suggest that people from Glasgow are less tolerant of the speech of those in (or

appearing to be in) a higher social position than themselves. When we examine the attitudes of informants to the non-standard speech of both Cilla Black and Rab C. Nesbitt, however, we find that it may be the case that people from Glasgow are merely less tolerant of any form of speech which does not match their own. In total, of the twelve informants who claimed to have anything other than dislike for the speech of Cilla Black, only two of these were from the Glasgow sample, while the other ten were from Edinburgh. As far as non-standard language varieties are concerned only responses to attitudes towards Rab C. Nesbitt's speech produced any consistency between the Glasgow and the Edinburgh informants, as thirteen Edinburgh informants and twelve Glasgow informants stated that they either like or do not mind his speech. Despite this, however, it would seem that the differences between the Glasgow and Edinburgh results suggest that people from Glasgow are, in general, less tolerant of different language varieties than people from Edinburgh.

<p>Question 18. Out of the list, whose speech do you like most?</p>
--

This question was designed to establish which speech variety the Glasgow and Edinburgh informants thought was the most attractive. The results can be split thus:

Fig. 15**Edinburgh:**

<i>S Connery</i>	<i>V Lumsden</i>	<i>RC Nesbitt</i>	<i>P Charles</i>	<i>C Black</i>
16	12	2	1	1

Glasgow:

<i>S Connery</i>	<i>V Lumsden</i>	<i>RC Nesbitt</i>	<i>P Charles</i>	<i>C Black</i>
26	3	2	0	1

Four of the Glasgow informants who named Sean Connery as the "best" speaker also named Viv Lumsden as a very "nice" speaker.

No informant from either Glasgow or Edinburgh named Margaret Thatcher as the speaker they liked most. This is probably as attributable to her personal and political lack of popularity in Scotland, as to her speech. However, with a total of forty-two informants naming Sean Connery as the "best" speaker, and the fact that the only other example which came close to this number was Viv Lumsden on fifteen positive responses, we can clearly see that as far as the informants for this study are concerned the most attractive speech style is SSE. This is likely to be due to the fact that SSE is perceived as being universally intelligible (unlike non-standard accents and dialects) while at the same time being peculiarly Scottish. We must bear in mind here that the reason the numbers of positive responses for Viv Lumsden in Glasgow are so low is that, as already stated, her speech is considered fake and artificially superior by a

relatively large number of Glasgow informants, and artificiality is perceived as a despicable trait indicative of shame for more localised speech. Despite this, however, most of the informants who gave the answers Sean Connery or Viv Lumsden claimed that they liked their speech because it was Scottish while at the same time being suitable for communication outwith the specifically Scottish context. This representation and identification as a Scot is exactly what makes SSE appear so attractive to Scottish people. The fact that Sean Connery is originally from Edinburgh was another reason why so many Edinburgh informants claimed they liked his speech best, as they claimed that he had a "good Edinburgh accent", and was, therefore, in some way representing them. In fact, Sean Connery has an almost non-specific accent of SSE, but it is interesting that as an extension of many Edinburgh peoples' pride in him, they perceive his speech as being indicative of the city of Edinburgh and presumably, by proxy, themselves.

4.4 EDUCATION

4.4.1 CORRECTION OF SPEECH DURING CHILDHOOD

Question 20. Was your speech ever corrected at school?

Question 21. Do you remember anyone's speech being corrected when you were at school?

Question 22. Was your speech ever corrected by your parents when you were a child?

Question 23. In what way? Any examples?

Question 21 was only asked if the answer to Question 20 was "no". These questions were asked in order to establish the extent to which notions of 'correct' and 'wrong' language use have been taught by schools in the past, and/or inherited from parents.

Question 23 is more than just a probing question (see §3.2.3). It was intended to elicit information on the types of thing that schools, and often parents, considered, in the past, to be wrong. Any results obtained from this question can only be seen as referring to what was the case in the past, as all the informants were adults so their experience of school does not represent present educational policy. In short, it was included in the questionnaire in order to record examples

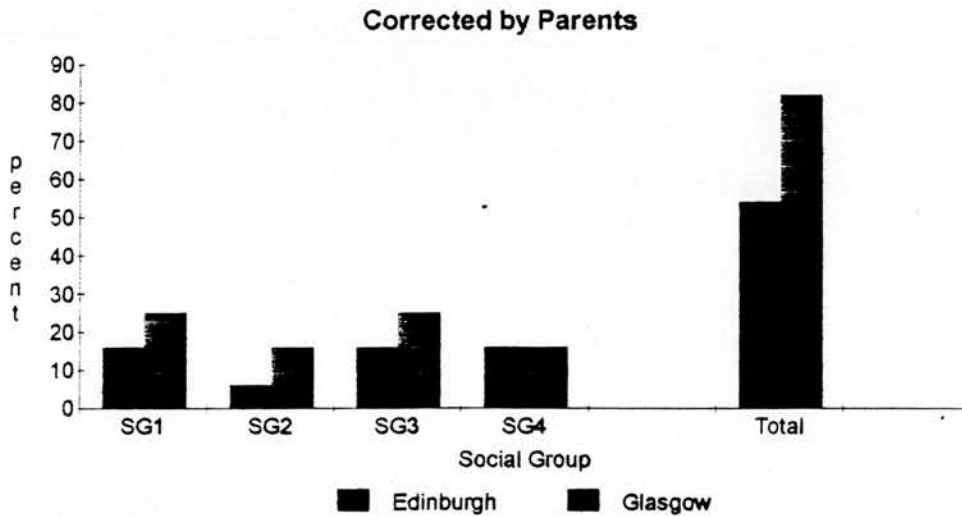
of what have been considered to be the least correct language forms in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

A total of forty-four of the sixty-four informants claimed that either their own speech, or the speech of others had been corrected by teachers when they were at school. When asked about what sort of thing teachers had corrected, all of these informants stated that "lazy speech" or "slang" were not tolerated, and that teachers corrected anything which was not "proper" or "correct" English. The use of adjectives such as 'proper' and 'correct' shows that as far as these informants (at least) are concerned notions of 'correct' and 'incorrect' are applicable to language, and it is likely that these notions, if not created by the schools, have been enhanced and/or affirmed by them.

Similarly, a total of forty-three informants (seventeen from Edinburgh and twenty-six from Glasgow) claimed that their speech had been corrected by their parents. Again, terms such as 'slang' were used by the informants to describe what their parents had objected to, and qualitative terms such as 'properly' were used to describe the language their parents apparently considered more appropriate. As shown above, the number of informants from Glasgow who claimed that their speech had been corrected by their parents as a child is

significantly greater than the number from Edinburgh. If we correlate these figures with social grouping we get the results shown in Graph 4.

Graph 4.



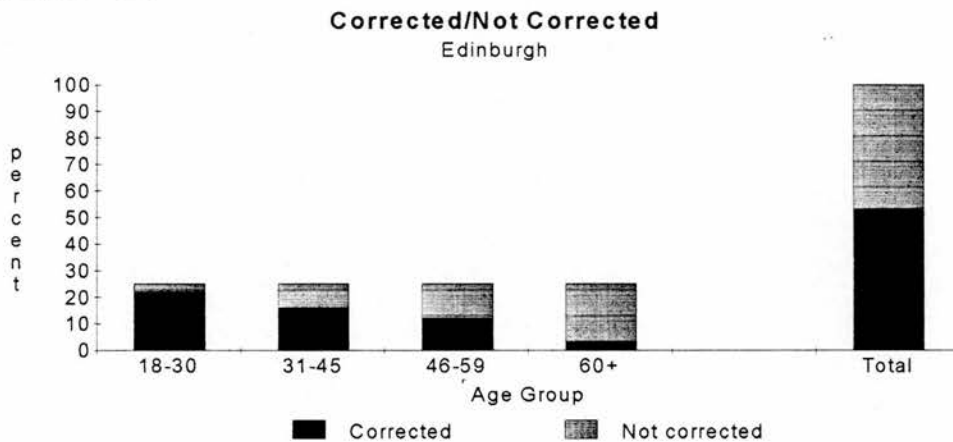
NB. Figures for Glasgow are percentages of all Glasgow informants, and figures for Edinburgh are percentages of all Edinburgh informants.

As Graph 4 shows, eighty-two percent of informants from Glasgow stated that their speech had been corrected by their parents as opposed to only fifty-three percent of informants from Edinburgh. The explanation for this discrepancy seems to lie in the fact that for this study, at least, parents from all social groups in Glasgow, with the exception of Social Group 4, were more likely to correct the speech of their children than those parents from Edinburgh. The reason for this can be explained by the contention that linguistic insecurity is more prevalent in Glasgow than it is in Edinburgh, and that speakers from Edinburgh are less likely than Glaswegians

to actively dislike their local vernacular due to the fact that there is far less stigma attached to Edinburgh dialect than Glasgow dialect (see §4.2 above).

Bearing this in mind, however, when we correlate the answers to Question 22 with age group we can see that while there are no significant discrepancies in the number of informants from different age groups in Glasgow who claimed that their parents had corrected their speech, the Edinburgh sample has more interesting results, see Graph 5 below.

Graph 5.



Graph 5 shows that, in Edinburgh, the number of informants who claimed that their speech had been corrected by their parents as a child declines as age group increases and, in direct contrast, the number of those whose speech had not been corrected by parents, decreases as age group declines. This strongly suggests that while it would appear that overall, parents from Glasgow are more likely to correct their children's

speech than those from Edinburgh, this century has seen an increasing tendency for parents in Edinburgh to correct their children's speech. A possible explanation for this 'recent' increase could be that people from Edinburgh are becoming more aware of language as a marker of status, and that the dialect associated with Edinburgh is becoming stigmatised in the same way (but not to the same extent) as Glasgow dialect has been throughout this century. While Glasgow dialect is a somewhat exceptional case in that it has been perceived as ugly and corrupt throughout this century (see §2.1.4 and §4.2 above), the situation elsewhere in Britain (and as illustrated by this study, in Edinburgh) probably has more to do with increased social mobility and better education this century. This has resulted in more people in Britain as a whole aspiring upwards socially, and less prone to accepting that socio-economic status is a lifelong constant. One characteristic of upward social mobility is an increased tendency to adopt (or attempt to) prestigious Standard language forms in place of less prestigious Non-standard forms, and this is what appears to have been occurring in Edinburgh this century.

Strangely, the contention that awareness of speech as a marker of social status has been increasing in Edinburgh throughout this century is not supported by the results for Questions 20 and 21 (ie., Was your (or anyone's)

speech ever corrected at school). When the data for this question are correlated with age group there are no significant differences in the number of Edinburgh (or Glasgow) informants from the different age groups who claim that their (or anyone's) speech was corrected. It would, thus, appear that schools have been advocating the use of SSE for far longer than the population has, itself, been concerned with the reasons for, and practice of using different speech varieties. These results also reflect the fact that the education system in Scotland has advocated the use of SSE at the expense of the Scots dialects throughout this century (Murison 1979(b):58). This point is further illustrated by the results for Question 23.

As stated, Question 23 asked the informants to give examples of linguistic forms which were corrected by teachers. Admittedly, this question can only ever be conducive to anecdotal responses, but it was felt that an informant's 'off the top of the head' reply would most probably give this study examples of which linguistic forms were most stigmatised, not only by the schools, but also by the informant him/herself.

A large number of informants stated that teachers were likely to correct, what transpired to be, Scots lexical items in favour of their English equivalents. The

examples of words which were subject to correction included *ken* and *wee* (ie., 'know' and 'small' respectively), amongst others, but by far the most frequent example was *aye* for Standard English 'yes'. A total of seventeen informants gave this example, nine from Glasgow and eight from Edinburgh. The word *aye* is not, in fact, an exclusively Scots word. Admittedly, it has fallen out of use in English Standard English and Southern English dialects, except in specific circumstances eg., in the navy and parliamentary voting, where the use of this word is retained as a reference to tradition. It has been, however, used by speakers of both Scots dialect, SSE and Northern English dialects long since it has fallen out of general use elsewhere. This particular item has also been the subject of much recent controversy, as the Scottish law courts have on two occasions in 1995, at least, held defendants in contempt of court for using *aye* rather than 'yes' as an affirmative. Unsurprisingly, the media in Scotland commented indignantly that rulings of this nature imply that Scottish people may not defend themselves in their own language in a Scottish court, and defended the use of the word as a Scots alternative to yes (though one judge was reported as saying that *aye* does not mean 'yes' in Scots, it only means *always* or *ever* (J. Hodgeman in The Evening Times 9/5/94)). Despite court rulings and school policy, however, *aye* is a feature of Scottish

speech, and is showing no signs of declining in its frequency of use. Without exception, all of the informants in this study (ie., from all social groups, age groups and genders) used the word during the course of the interview. It appears that institutionalised disapproval of this word has had no effect on its frequency of use (though it has, most probably helped to make it stylistically marked), and this being the case, there is no reason to assume that continued or increased discrimination against this word will result in its decline as a feature of Scottish speech.

Pronunciation was also commented on by several informants. A total of nineteen informants, ten from Glasgow and nine from Edinburgh, stated that teachers had corrected their pronunciation. Again, examples of this were varied including amongst others the Scots pronunciations of *home*, and *bread*, [hem] and [brid] being considered 'incorrect' pronunciations of SSE [hom] and [brəd] by teachers. By far the most common example of pronunciation correction was the use of [ʔ] instead of [t] in words such as *butter*. This use of the glottal stop was commented on by ten informants. Eight of these ten were from Glasgow, a figure which is not surprising due to the fact that glottalised [t] is supposedly a well-known feature of (specifically) Glasgow speech, and has

been subject to much criticism. The fact that only two of the Edinburgh informants gave this particular example probably further reinforces the contention that the people of Edinburgh perceive their own local vernacular to a far lesser extent than people in Glasgow, and this can be put down to the fact that Edinburgh dialect has been subject to far less comment and notoriety than Glasgow dialect (for the reasons outlined in §4.2).

A lesser number of informants claimed that they remembered teachers correcting their grammar. The most common example of this was the use of the past participle *done* where SSE has the past tense eg., non-standard *I done* for SSE '*I did*'. Again, this was probably the most common example of grammatical correction because it is a well known and much maligned feature of Scottish speech.

Thus, answers to Question 23 were interesting as they confirmed that Scottish people are aware of what is considered 'right' and 'wrong' by the education system, and by extension, other institutions of authority. In this way Scottish people are aware of many linguistic features which have some social stigma attached to them, and as a result of the interference of the schools, are able to stylistically mark certain features. As a broad Scots speaker will usually have more difficulty maintaining the avoidance of Scots (or otherwise non-

standard) forms than an SSE speaker, it could also be said that this type of interference by the schools can actually enhance linguistic insecurity in Scots speakers.

4.4.2 EXPERIENCE OF ENGLISH AND SCOTS TEACHING IN SCHOOL

Question 24. Did you do English at school?

Question 25. To what level?

These questions were designed to prompt the informant into thinking about his or her experience of English lessons at school. These questions also introduced the subject of the amount of education the informant had received. This information could then be used as part of the person's social class indexing (see §3.1). As an illustration of how these questions were used for this purpose, if the informant stated that he had studied English to SCE 'Higher' level, then he was asked at the end of the interview if he had had any further education. If, however, the informant stated that he had left school with no qualifications he was asked if he had received any education after leaving school. In this way these questions served to give the researcher some information about the informant's education, and this could be used later, if necessary, as an easy way to talk about the informant's education. An apparently informal discussion about this subject while the researcher is leaving is far

less intimidating to an informant than a list of questions, because if, for instance, the informant has no formal qualifications, he or she would be replying "no" to every question which might make him or her feel unintelligent and inferior.

Question 26. What were you taught in English classes?

Question 27. Did you do any literature in Scots?

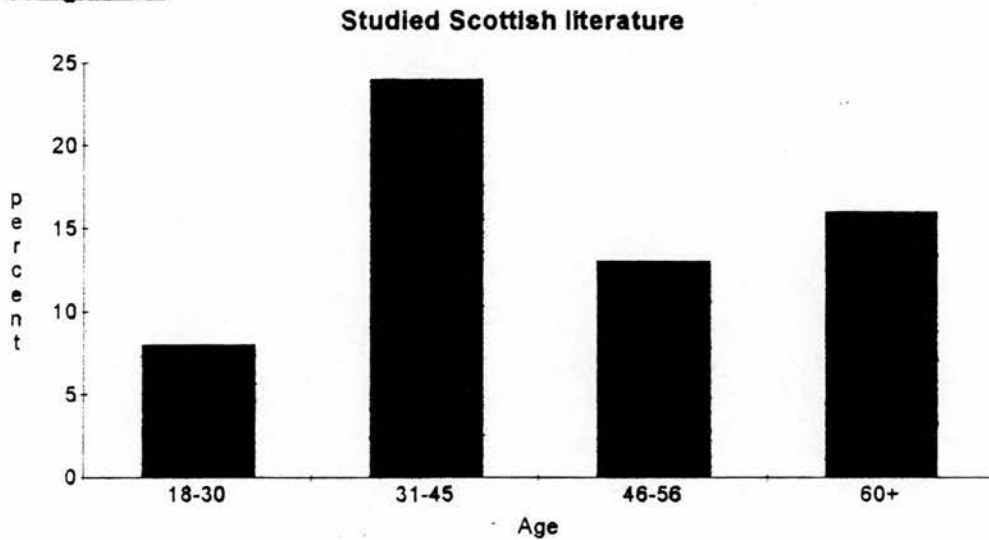
Question 26 allowed the informant to give some information on what he or she remembered about the study of English at school, and Question 27 was based on the assumption that the answers to Question 26 would not include information about the study of Scots, since it has not been taught systematically this century (see further at §6.1 and §6.2). Question 27 was, thus, included in the questionnaire for two reasons. The first of these is to establish whether or not, or to what extent, Scottish literature has been included in English classes. The second reason for the inclusion of this question was to introduce the concept of Scots as an entity separate and different from English to the informant. This was considered necessary because many people are unaware of the fact that Scots is a independent and historical language (see §2.1.1), and have no experience of Scottish literature. Thus, introducing the term 'Scots' was intended to suggest to

the informant that we were speaking about something other than English.

Thirty-four of the informants said that they had been taught Scottish literature at school, and thirty said that they had not. Of the thirty-four who said that they had, only two had studied any Scots literature at SCE 'Higher' level (both of these informants were under 35 years). The remaining thirty-two informants who had studied Scottish literature at school said that they had read some Burns poetry and some Robert Louis Stevenson, and commonly this was at Primary School level. This illustrates the fact that the teaching of Scottish literature has been seriously lacking in Scottish schools. Recent attempts to increase the amount, and improve the quality of the teaching of Scottish literature have consisted of the inclusion of Scots texts in the SCE 'Higher' syllabus. Since a relatively large number of people leave school before they get to 'Higher' level (although this number is decreasing) many can leave without anything but Primary School instruction in Scottish literature. The recent inclusion of Scottish literature in the SCE 'Higher' syllabus has also been limited in its effect on the reading habits of Scottish people, as its inclusion has been at the discretion of individual teachers and has not been backed up with teacher-training on how to go about teaching it. As a

result, it has been avoided by many teachers who feel themselves to be too ill informed about Scots language and literature to attempt any teaching at 'Higher' level, and this has limited the intended expansion of the teaching of Scottish literature. In this study the results for Question 27 were expected to show that experience of Scottish literature had increased in recent years as a result of new educational guidelines (see further at §6.4 and §6.5. As Graph 6 shows, this has not been found to be the case.

Graph 6.



It was expected that the youngest age group would include the largest number of people who had studied Scottish literature, but this is not the case. Graph 6 suggests that there has actually been less teaching of Scottish literature in the schools in recent years. Results such as this should reinforce the necessity and value of the most recent proposals for the inclusion of Scottish

literature in the school curriculum, The Scottish Language Project (see §6.5), which includes proposals for extensive training for teachers on the Scots language, and the teaching of Scottish literature.

4.4.3 SPELLING

Question 28. Do you think the spelling of English reflects the way you speak?

Question 29. Do you think the spelling in the poems on this sheet reflect your speech any better?

The material used for the Edinburgh study was three poems by Jake Flower: "Don't Weep", "After" and "Birds" (Flower (1971:24)). These were chosen because they were written in Flower's representation of twentieth century Edinburgh dialect, and this was considered most appropriate for an Edinburgh study. The material used for the Glasgow study was a poem by Matt McGinn: "Willie Macnamara" (King (ed) 1983:33) which was written in Glasgow dialect, and thus, considered most appropriate for a Glasgow study.

Questions 28 and 29 were asked for two reasons. The first was to establish whether or not the informant thought that his or her speech is reflected by 'Standard' English spelling, and/or by the spelling of the variety of Scots on the handout. The second reason for these questions was to mention Scots for the second time as a linguistic

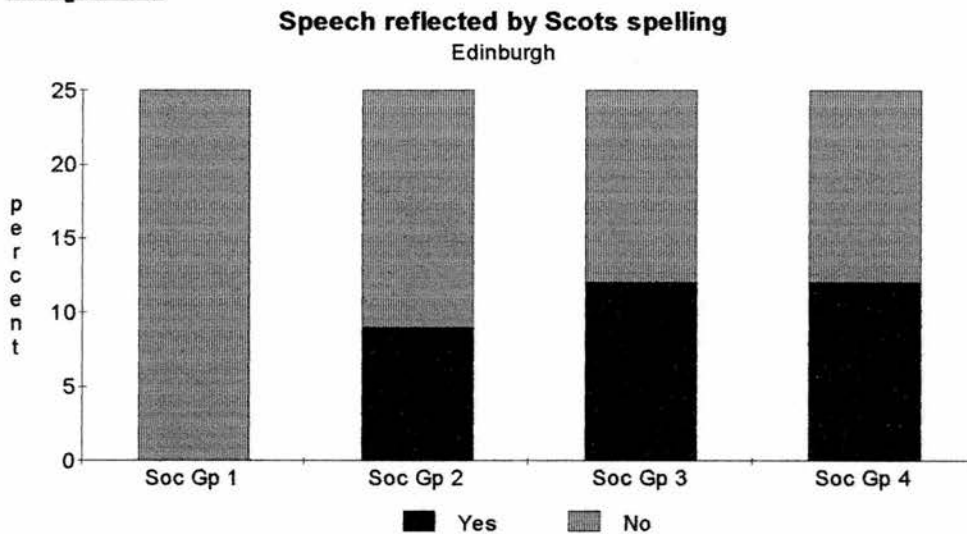
entity separate from English (see §4.4.2 above), and to show the informant an example of the language in written form. .

It has to be noted here that 'Standard' English spelling does not actually correspond to any variety of speech in Britain. When asked whether or not the spelling of English reflects speech, however, the Edinburgh informants were split fifty-fifty between answering "yes" and "no". Also, no significant differences were recorded when these figures were correlated with social group, age group and gender. Conversely, in the Glasgow study, only eight informants claimed that they thought the spelling of English reflects speech, while twenty-four said it does not. None of the eight who said that it does were informants from Social Group 4. This would seem to suggest that a speaker of Glasgow dialect is more aware than a speaker of Edinburgh dialect of the fact that his/her speech is not represented well by the spelling of English. This contention is supported by the results for Question 29.

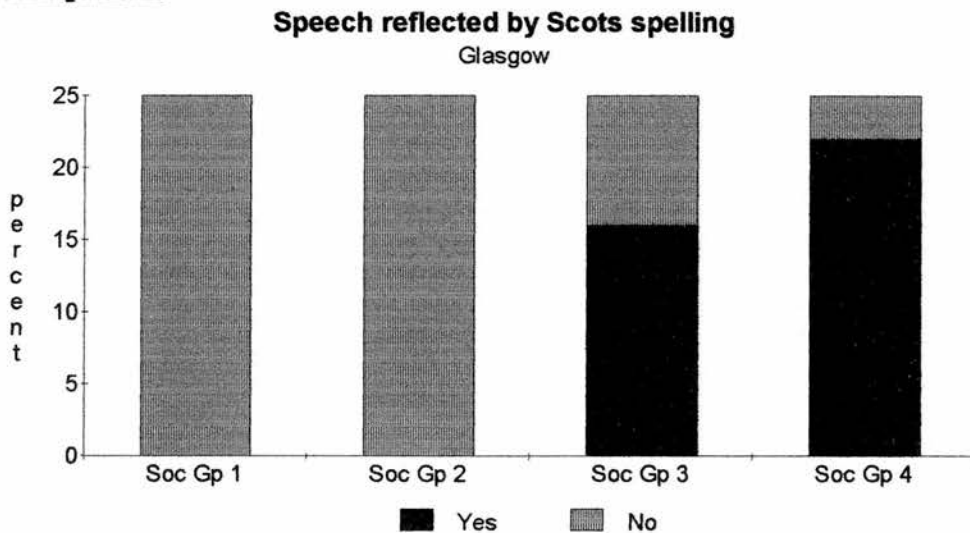
When informants were asked whether or not they thought that the spelling in the given poems reflected their speech any better, the results for Glasgow and Edinburgh were more consistent. A total of twenty-one informants (ten from Edinburgh and eleven from Glasgow) claimed that

their pronunciation is better represented by the examples of written Scots, and a total of forty-three informants (twenty-two from Edinburgh and twenty-one from Glasgow) claimed that it is not. Graphs 7 and 8 shows how results for this question highlight the different ways in which the social variation of language is perceived in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Graph 7.



Graph 8.



Graphs 7 and 8 show that while people from the higher social groups do not tend to think their speech is reflected by Scots spelling, and people from the lower social groups do, these tendencies are more clear-cut in Glasgow than in Edinburgh. This would, again, appear to suggest that speakers of Edinburgh dialect are less likely to perceive their speech as being very different from Standard English than are their Glasgow counterparts. It would seem that, in Glasgow, there is a far more definite division of language, and that this division is perceived and acknowledged by speakers of both SSE and Glasgow dialect in Glasgow.

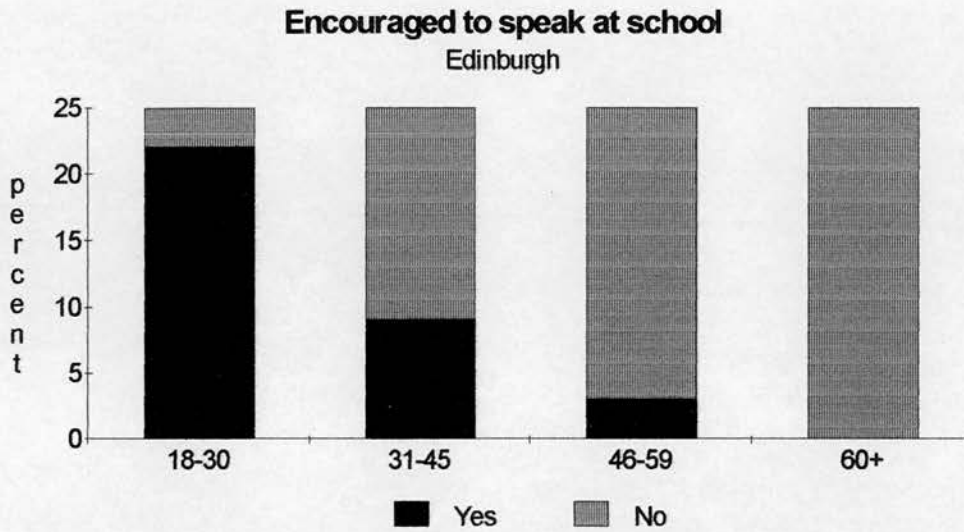
4.4.4 ORAL COMMUNICATION

While Questions 20 and 21 dealt with the way in which schools reacted to the speech of the informants (see §4.4.1 above), Question 31 asked the informants about their experience of the teaching and development of oral skills.

<p>Question 31. Were you encouraged to speak in classes at school?</p>

This question was intended to extract information about any changes there have been in teaching oral skills in the schools. Traditionally Scottish schools have concentrated wholly on the development of writing skills, to the exclusion of the teaching of the subject of

competent and confident speaking. As a result of this, reticence and linguistic insecurity were features commonly associated with Scottish people (as documented by commentators such as Low (1974), Macaulay (1975)) (see §1.8 and §2.4 above, and §6.1 below). This has since been acknowledged by the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED), which now includes in its guidelines for the teaching of English to school children a syllabus on the development of oral skills. For example, the SOED's 5-14 Guidelines on the English Language (see further at §6.4) state that "schools should...develop pupils' ability, when talking and writing, to choose a style of language appropriate to purpose and audience" (SOED(2) (1991:21)). This suggests that the development of oral competence be given as much importance as that of writing (see Chapter 6 below for a discussion of traditional and contemporary education in Scotland). What the results of Question 31 were expected to find, therefore, was that the younger age groups were encouraged to speak at school, while the older age groups were not. As Graph 9 shows, this is exactly what was found to be the case in Edinburgh, as the number who claimed that they were encouraged to speak in classes at school declines as age group increases.

Graph 9.

Surprisingly, when the figures from the Glasgow sample were correlated with age group, they showed no significant differences for those aged 18 to 59, and in contrast to the Edinburgh sample, only one Glasgow informant aged over 60 years claimed that she had not been encouraged to speak in classes at school.

These results would seem to suggest that while recent initiatives of the SOED designed to improve the teaching of oral communications have taken effect in Edinburgh, their impact on the schools in Glasgow has been minimal. There could be two possible explanations for this. Either the people of Glasgow have not been aware of the recent emphasis on the teaching of oral communications, or there has been a general failure of the schools in Glasgow to implement SOED guidelines on this subject. In order to explain, categorically, the reasons why the people of

Glasgow seem to have received less instruction on oral communications, and to test whether or not either of the above hypotheses are, in fact, the case, a fuller investigation on the implementation of education policy in Glasgow (and elsewhere, possibly) would have to be undertaken.

4.5 AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TO THE LANGUAGES OF SCOTLAND

4.5.1 THE LANGUAGES OF SCOTLAND

Question 34. What are the languages of Scotland?

Question 35. Do you or do you know anyone who can speak Gaelic?

Question 36. What language did Robert Burns write in?

Question 37. How is this different from English / the English we speak today?

These questions were designed to obtain information about peoples' awareness of the languages spoken in Scotland. Robert Burns was chosen as the example of a Scots poet for Question 36 purely because he is, supposedly, the most well-known (Appelbaum 1991:ii). For many Scottish people of all social classes and age groups Burns is considered to be a national hero and his life and poetry have become the subjects of a relatively new tradition of annual celebration. While many people claim to be unable

to understand his language they still suggest that his poetry is a valued part of their cultural identity (Kay 1988:41).

We can see from this study's results that many Scottish people are unclear about the language varieties spoken in Scotland. All but nine informants named Gaelic as a language of Scotland. Surprisingly, only thirty-one of the informants claimed that English is a language of Scotland, presumably because many believe English to be an imported language which, as a result, is not technically, a language of Scotland.

The most interesting result of Question 34 concerns perceptions of Scots as a language separate and different from English. Only ten out of the total sixty-four informants claimed that the languages of Scotland are Scots, English and Gaelic, and of those ten, four informants referred to Scots as something other than 'Scots' or 'Lowland Scots'. In fact, the total number of people who named Scots as a language of Scotland was only twenty-seven, and of these, only fifteen of these people used the correct name. The remaining twelve informants used titles which ranged from "Scotch" and "Scottish" to "Lallans" and specific dialect names such as "Glaswegian" and "Aberdonian". This shows that even when informants did claim to be aware of a language other than English

and Gaelic, they were unsure as to what it is called and who speaks it.

This point is further illustrated by the answers to Question 36 (ie., What language did Robert Burns write in). Although Burns wrote in English as well as Scots, it was felt that most of the informants would be acquainted with his Scots poetry only. This was obviously the case as the responses to this question ranged from correct answers such as 'Lowland Scots' and 'Ayrshire Scots' to more erroneous answers such as 'Lallans' (see §2.1.4) and even 'Broad English'. A total of fourteen informants gave an answer which could not, in any circumstances be considered correct eg., 'Old English', 'Gaelic', and five informants claimed that they did not know the name of the language Burns wrote in. Of the remaining forty-five answers, only twenty-four were correct (ie., were 'Lowland Scots', 'Scots' or 'Ayrshire Scots'). When asked the way in which the language of Burns differs from Present-day English, the majority of informants stated that it had some different words, pronunciations and spellings. Only one informant said that the difference between the language of Burns and English was that they are different languages.

It must be noted in this section that many of the informants claimed that they could not understand the

language of Burns. This problem has had to be dealt with by the creators of The Scottish Language Project (see below and further at §6.5) as the informants for this study, at least, not only have problems understanding literary Scots, but appear to be completely confused about what the Scots language is. Although the responses to Questions 5 to 24 suggest that all the informants appear to be aware of the fact that there is a non-standard language variety peculiar to Scotland (apparently particularly prevalent in the speech of Glaswegians and Aberdonians as the comments of many informants attest), this speech is not generally perceived as the same thing as (or even similar to) the language of the writers of Scottish literature, past or contemporary. It seems, therefore, that any programme of the teaching of Scottish literature would have to include addressing the connection between the spoken dialects of Lowland Scotland, and the literature to be taught in order that pupils are able to see the relevance Scottish literature has to themselves and their cultural identity.

4.5.2 FAMILIARITY WITH SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Question 38. Can you tell me if you have heard of any of these writers and if you have read anything they've written?

This question was designed to establish the extent to which people were accustomed to reading varieties of

Scots rather than English. The list of writers and the languages they write in is:

a) Hugh MacDiarmid	Scots (Lallans)
b) John Steinbeck	Modern Standard American English
c) Tom Leonard	Modern Scots (Glasgow dialect)
d) William Shakespeare	16th / 17th Century English
e) Lewis Grassic Gibbon	Modern SSE with Scots features
f) Ian Fleming	Modern English Standard English
g) Clifford Hanley	Modern Scottish Standard English
h) Jackie Collins	Modern Standard American English

The results for this question have a great deal to do with the teaching of English literature in the schools (see §6.1). Traditionally, schools have excluded the Scots language from the curriculum (see further at Chapter 3). The most usual case, therefore, is that people are most familiar with reading English and are, thus, less likely to attempt to read Scots of any variety (see §6.2). The SOED has recently included some Scots texts in the SCE 'Standard Grade' and SCE 'Higher' syllabuses, and this is reflected in the results for this question. This was observed particularly in the case of Lewis Grassic Gibbon, where more informants in the younger age groups have heard of him or read any of his novels than those in the older age groups. The relatively large number of informants who are familiar with the

novels of Lewis Grassie Gibbon seems to be more attributable to default, than a direct effect of their inclusion in the SCE 'Higher' syllabus. The reason more people have heard of or read Grassie Gibbon seems to have more to do with the fact that his novels have recently received increased media attention in the form of televised screen plays, theatre productions etc., and this media attention is probably attributable to the inclusion of the novels in the SCE 'Higher' syllabus. As this inclusion is optional, however, it would appear that many people are familiar with his work as an indirect result of this education policy. In fact, several informants claimed that they had heard of Lewis Grassie Gibbon as they had seen televised adaptations of his trilogy A Scots Quair (or parts of it), though they had never actually read the books.

A total of twenty-four informants had heard of Lewis Grassie Gibbon, twelve of whom had also read some of his novels (six from Glasgow, and six from Edinburgh). These twenty-four informants were from all social groups, all age groups, and both genders, ruling out any theory about the direct effect the inclusion of Grassie Gibbon texts in the school syllabus has had on informants from the younger age groups.

A total of forty-four informants had heard of Hugh MacDiarmid, thirty-two of whom had read some of his work. Again, these informants were split equally between being from Glasgow and Edinburgh, and represented all age groups, social groups, and both genders.

Conversely, however, only five of the total number of informants had heard of Tom Leonard, and only three of these had read anything he has written.

These results are interesting when we consider them together. More informants have heard of Hugh MacDiarmid than Lewis Grassie Gibbon, and more informants have heard of Lewis Grassie Gibbon than Tom Leonard, and the informants who have heard of any of these three writers are representative of each of the social groups, age groups and both genders. This strengthens the contention that as far as concerns Scottish literature, the education system in Scotland seems to have had no effect on the reading habits of the population. Admittedly, no-one under the age of eighteen was interviewed, so it is possible that since the inclusion of Grassie Gibbon (amongst others) in the school curriculum is relatively recent, significant changes in the literary habits of pupils may only be evident in persons of a younger age than this study was concerned with. This is, however, unlikely as informants from the youngest age group do not

tend to be any more acquainted with 'Scots' writers than any other age group, and we would expect to be able to see at least the beginning of a trend towards increased knowledge of Scottish literature as age group declines. Instead, as would be expected had the education system not attempted to include Scottish literature in the school curriculum, more informants had heard of or read the work of William Shakespeare and John Steinbeck (whose novels have been included in the syllabus for a number of years) than any writer of Scottish literature. In fact, more informants had read Shakespeare than even those writers who are commonly read for the purpose of 'leisure' ie., Ian Fleming, Jackie Collins and Clifford Hanley. This is purely because, as many of the informants stated, the schools have promoted the work of William Shakespeare throughout this century. Many informants also claimed that they did not fully understand (or enjoy) Shakespeare's plays or poetry because of the language they are written in. This is an interesting point, as for many years the argument against the teaching of Scottish literature has been that the language is too different from Present-day English (or, presumably, the modern Scots dialects) for the teaching of it to be practical. As the people of Scotland have been expected to understand sixteenth/seventeenth English in the form of the works of Shakespeare, without any formal training in the language used, it would appear that it is not

unreasonable to expect that, taught appropriately, literature in Scots could be integrated successfully into the study of the school subject known in Scotland as 'English'.

The results for Question 38, in short, confirm the present writer's contention that the teaching of Scottish literature in Scottish schools is wholly inadequate. When we consider the comments of many informants on the problems they encountered when attempting to read Shakespeare, it also appears that this lack of instruction in Scottish literature is entirely unjustified, as pupils in Scotland will surely not encounter more difficulty with literary Scots than they have done (and still do) with the language of Shakespeare. This question confirms that the Scottish Language Project is not just desirable, but absolutely necessary if Scottish literature is to be retained as an important part of the culture of Lowland Scotland.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEXIS, PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR IN GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH

5.1 LEXICAL USAGE

Question 39: What do these words mean and do you ever use them?

This question asked the informant about twenty-one words. This number of words was considered appropriate as it is few enough to avoid taking too much time, while still being a number large enough to indicate the extent to which informants use and understand Scots lexical items. Some of these words pertain to Scots dialects generally, and others pertain specifically to Lothian or East Central Scots, or Glasgow or West Central Scots. For each item the informant was shown a card on which the word was written in order to avoid him/her being misled by the researcher's pronunciation. Each item will be discussed individually.

NB. In this and the following sections where histograms are used it must be remembered that each age group or social group is made up of 25% of the total sample. Therefore, each graphically illustrated result is to be read as being out of 25%.

5.1.1 GAED, RANCE, BAUKS, SLAG

Several of the items in this part of the questionnaire were included in order to investigate their existence as part of the spoken language of people in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Thus, two items, *rance* and *bauks* were included in order to test for obsolescence, while the item *slag* was included in order to test whether or not there has been a change of meaning (see below for definitions and a

detailed discussion of each of these words). The item *gaed* was also included in order to test Sandred's findings in 1983 that this word is not a feature of the speech of people in Edinburgh, and to establish whether or not it is spoken by the people of Glasgow. The results are detailed below.

GAED

The CSD states that the weak verb *gaed* is a Scots alternative to the English suppletive verb *went*, but that its use is restricted to the North of Scotland.

No informant claimed to use the word *gaed* rather than *went*, and most of the informants appeared to have never heard of it either. It would, therefore, be interesting to read the results of a sociolinguistic study of the North East of Scotland in order to investigate whether or not this item really is retained in the dialect there.

RANCE

The CSD states that this noun has several meanings, but that in Lothian it is used to mean "a bar for securing a door". It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether or not anyone in Edinburgh actually knew of this word, as the CSD states that it is a feature

of twentieth century speech there. It was also included in order to investigate whether this item was at all known in Glasgow.

Absolutely nobody from either the Glasgow or the Edinburgh sample had ever heard of the word *rance*. As its definition in the CSD suggests that it is a word which few people in the late twentieth century would ever have to use, several joiners and other tradesmen from Edinburgh were asked if they could identify what this word means. Again, none of these people were able to define *rance*. As a result it would seem appropriate to conclude that if this word was ever a feature of the language used in Edinburgh it is now completely obsolete. It is also most likely that this item has never been a feature of the language used in Glasgow.

Bauks

According to the CSD this item is used in Lothian as a plural noun to mean "a church gallery". It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether or not this item is a feature of the language spoken in Glasgow, and to check that it is, indeed a feature of that spoken in Edinburgh.

Not one of the informants from either Glasgow or Edinburgh knew what this word means. As a result it would appear most likely that *bauks* is now obsolete in Glasgow and Edinburgh at least.

SLAG

This item was included as an example of Scottish slang. It is not featured in the CSD as a noun used in either West or East Scotland, but Agutter and Cowan (1981) define it as a middle class Lothian word which means "a heavy, clumsy person", and cite Agutter (1979) as their source for this. In British slang nowadays a *slag* is a derogatory term for a person, and in Scotland in particular, it almost always refers to a woman and carries a sexual reference ie., it can mean "an immoral woman".

All but three of the informants from either Glasgow or Edinburgh claimed that this word means "an immoral woman". Of the three who claimed that *slag* does not carry any specifically sexual reference, two are from Glasgow and one is from Edinburgh. Two of these informants are aged over 60 years, and in the case of at least one of them, the impression was that he was claiming to not know of any sexual reference because he was embarrassed by the fact that he was being asked this question by a young

female. Either way, however, it would appear on the strength of the vast majority of informants who stated that it does mean "an immoral woman" that if it was ever the case, generally in Glasgow and Edinburgh, this item is not a middle class word for "a heavy, clumsy person" as Agutter (1979) found. Indeed, it appears that this word is known by those of all social groups to be a derogatory term for a woman, with little or no variation on the basis of social class.

5.1.2 CHUM, SIVER/STANK, SPAIL/SKELF, KEN

Several items were included in the questionnaire to investigate whether or not words which have been indigenous to Edinburgh speech have been adopted by speakers of other varieties of Scots or SSE, in this case Glasgow speakers. Originally the items *chum* and *ken* were the words included for this purpose, but upon undertaking the interviews it became apparent that there exist specifically Edinburgh equivalents of the general Scots items *stank* and *skelf*. These alternatives are *siver* and *spail* respectively and as they do not appear to have been adopted into the dialect spoken in Glasgow they were included in this section of the results.

CHUM

Informants were asked to define the verb *chum*. The CSD defines it as a colloquialisation of the English noun *chum*, meaning *friend*, and means "to accompany". In his study of Edinburgh, Sandred notes in his results that this item is subject to variation based on gender (Sandred 1983). He found that *to chum* is used by women more than men, and that it is considered to be a "women's word". This item was, thus, included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether or not it is a feature of speech in Glasgow, and to test Sandred's findings.

Only three of the Glasgow informants knew what *to chum* means, and only one of them claimed to use it. All three of these informants are female, but since their number is so small it is impossible to state that this verb pertains to women more than men in Glasgow. In fact, with so few informants even knowing what it means, it is probably more appropriate to suggest that this word does not pertain to Glasgow speech to any great extent at all.

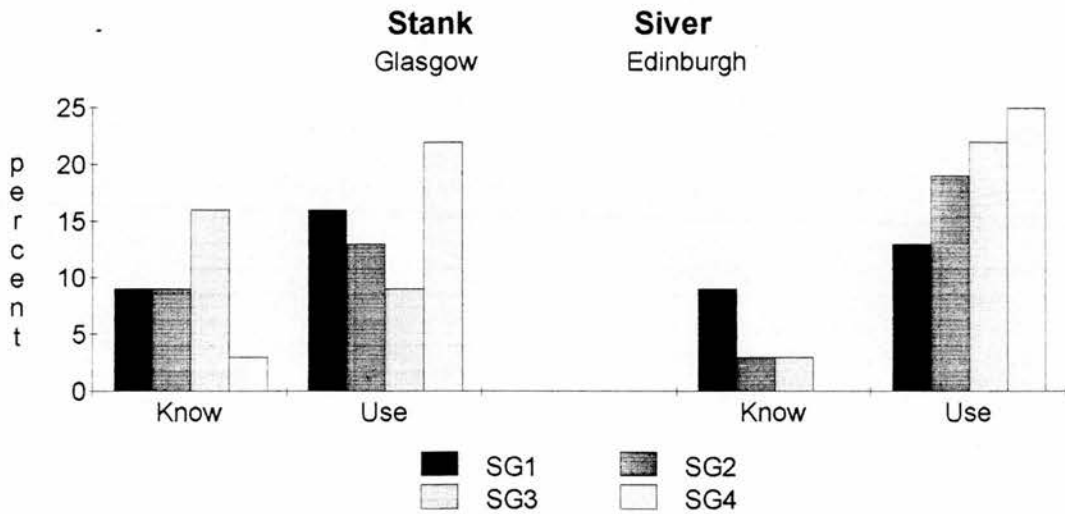
The results from Edinburgh directly contradict the results from Glasgow. All of the informants claimed that they use this word, with the exception of one female who had heard of it but does not use it herself (it is relevant to state, though, that this woman had been

brought up in Coatbridge). In this way, the verb *chum* does not appear to be subject to any kind of sociolinguistic variation in Edinburgh, as all of the informants, who represent all social groups, age groups and both genders, use the word. Therefore, unlike Sandred's findings this study cannot conclude that the usage of *to chum* is subject to any gender differentiation in Edinburgh.

SIVER / STANK

Both *stank* and *siver* (spelt <syver> in the CSD) mean "a street drain". The CSD states that both can be found throughout Scotland. *Stank* was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the sociolinguistic patterning of the word in Glasgow, and *siver* was included in order to do the same in Edinburgh. The Glasgow informants were also asked to define the word *siver* in order to investigate whether or not it is a feature of the vocabulary used in Glasgow.

Only one Glasgow informant was unaware of the meaning of *stank*, and only two Edinburgh informants were unaware of the meaning of *siver*. The distribution of the use of these words is quite different in the two cities. Graph 10 illustrates this.

Graph 10.

The results for the Glasgow sample show that *stank* is used throughout the social class range, with only the third highest social group showing any important difference in the number of informants who claim to use it. Again, a possible explanation for this could be to do with sociolinguistic theory about the third highest group in society aspiring towards the prestige form to a greater degree than those in the two highest groups. The results for Edinburgh show the straightforward sociolinguistic variation of the use of *siver* ie., use of this word increases as social group declines from 1 to 4. It is important also to note that for many of those who claimed to use *siver*, that use appeared to be entirely covert ie., not a conscious reference to a peculiarly Scots lexical form. This conclusion can be reached by interpreting the comments of several of the informants regarding this word. For example, when asked about this

item, Edinburgh Informant "F" (female, age 31-45, social group 4) replied, "is 'siver' no an ordinary word? Is that 'no an English word? ". This type of comment is typical of the responses from the Edinburgh informants who claimed to use *siver*.

For either *stank* in Glasgow or *siver* in Edinburgh there appeared no significant differences when the results were correlated with gender, but when correlated with age group the Edinburgh results did show a slight discrepancy. This was that out of the five Edinburgh informants who claimed to know of the word *siver* but not use it, four were aged 18-30. This suggests that this item could be at the start of a decline from the speech of people from Edinburgh, despite the fact that for many of the informants the use of it was covert.

Only four of the Glasgow informants claimed to know what a *siver* is. Of these four, three are aged 60+, and one is aged 46-59. This suggest that the use of this word in Glasgow has been in decline for some time now, to the extent where most Glaswegians appear to have never heard of it. This illustrates the type of language diversity there exists between Glasgow and Edinburgh. Most people in Edinburgh are aware of what a *siver* is, and most of them use this word (often covertly), while most people in Glasgow have never heard of it.

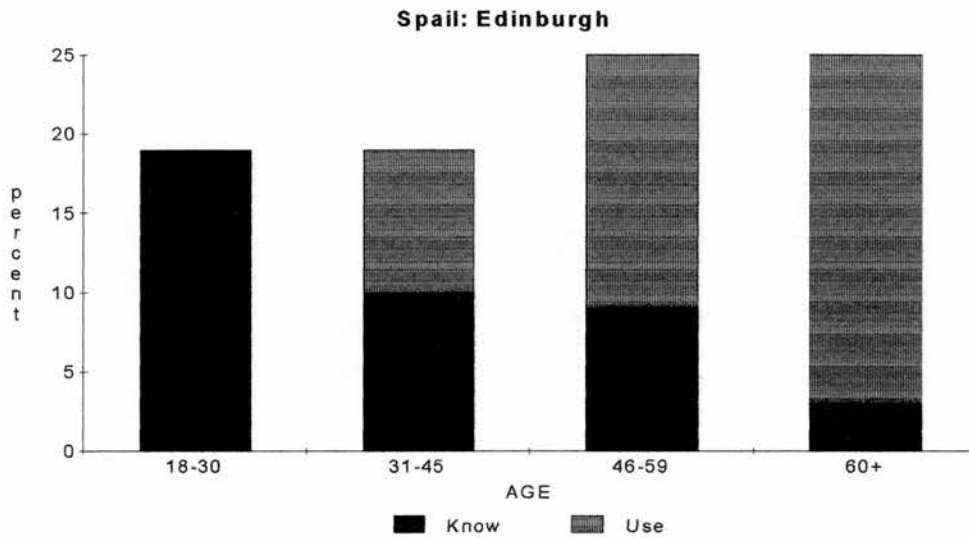
SPAIL / SKELF

The Edinburgh study was carried out before the Glasgow one. Originally the informant was asked if he or she knew what the noun *skelf* meant and if he or she ever used it. This was considered appropriate after consulting the Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD) which states that this word, meaning "splinter", is a feature of the language spoken in Central Scotland. It became apparent after the first few interviews, however, that the Edinburgh informants were not familiar with this item. It then came to light that the reason none of them knew what a *skelf* was, was because they used the word *spail* to mean the same thing. The (CSD) states that *spail* is a feature of "General Scots" (ie., without regional diversity within Scotland), so it was included thereafter in the questionnaire instead of *skelf* for the Edinburgh informants, and as well as *skelf* for the Glasgow informants. Thus, *skelf* was included in the questionnaire because it is said to be a feature of speech in Central Scotland, and it has not been included in a sociolinguistic study of lexis before. *Spail* was included by default, as a result of responses concerning *skelf*.

All thirty-two of the Glasgow informants knew and used the word *skelf* and none of those asked knew what a *spail* is. This would appear to contradict the CSD as 'General Scots' must also include Glasgow speech.

The results for the Edinburgh sample are less clear-cut. Fourteen of the informants from Edinburgh did not know the meaning of *skelf*. Of the remaining eighteen informants, only six said that they used the word. Of these six, four were informants who had not been brought up in Edinburgh. This suggests, therefore, that *skelf* is not a common feature of Edinburgh speech, but is more well known in Edinburgh than *spail* is in Glasgow.

When asked about the word *spail* the results were more interesting. Only four of the Edinburgh informants did not know what a *spail* is, and it is significant that two of these four were informants who had not been brought up in Edinburgh (and had claimed to use the word *skelf*), and the other two were members of the youngest age group in this study. Fourteen informants knew what the word meant and a further fourteen used the word.

Graph 11

Graph 11 shows that the results for this study suggest that the use of the word *spail* is declining as time proceeds, as the younger the age group of the informant, the less often he or she claimed to use it. Similarly, it would appear that this word is sliding gradually into obsolescence as the younger the age of the informant, the less likely he or she was to even know what it means. Trends of this type are indicators of the gradual loss of linguistic items through time, and have been documented by several linguists eg., Labov in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972(b)). It would be impossible to say why *spail* is in decline, but we can surmise that with the growing number of people from Edinburgh who are familiar with the word *skelf* it is probably the case that *spail* is being replaced by *skelf* in Edinburgh.

KEN

To *ken* means "to know" in Scots (and Northern English dialects) and is a feature of most Lowland Scots dialects, including Lothian and East Coast Scots. The aim of including this item in the questionnaire, therefore, was to investigate whether it is also a feature of Glasgow dialect, and to establish the extent to which, in Edinburgh, this item is subject to social variation.

While all of the Glasgow informants knew what *to ken* means, only eight claimed to use the word. Of these eight, five are older than fifty years. These five are also members of either Social Group 3 or 4, and four out of the five live in Pollok (a working-class area in Glasgow). The remaining three are also of interest as two of them also live in Pollok. It would appear to be significant to point out that during the second world war children from Pollok tended to be evacuated to Ayrshire, (where this item is a prevalent feature of speech). The use of *ken* in Glasgow can, thus be explained by one of two theories. These theories are:

Theory 1: *Ken* tends to be used by people of an older age group, and lower social group in Glasgow, and as such is showing all the usual signs of decline through time. Continuation of this

decline will, most probably, result in
obsolescence in Glasgow.

Theory 2: Ken has already declined in use in Glasgow to the point of obsolescence. It is retained in the speech of some people as a direct effect of interference from the dialect of Ayrshire during their formative years. In this way, those who have adopted the use of this word through this type of language contact have passed it on to their children who are also apt to use it to a lesser extent. Eventually the effect of this language contact will decline to the extent that the use of *ken* will have died out in Glasgow altogether.

Theory 1 contends that the use of *ken* is retained in Glasgow, and Theory 2 contends that it is adopted. Either way, the future looks bleak for this word in Glasgow as the decline in use of it is indisputable. In fact, several informants (who did not claim to use *ken*) stated that they felt that Glasgow dialect is "strange" because this word is not a feature of it. This is illustrated by the comments of Glasgow Informant "E" (male, age 31-45, Social Group 1):

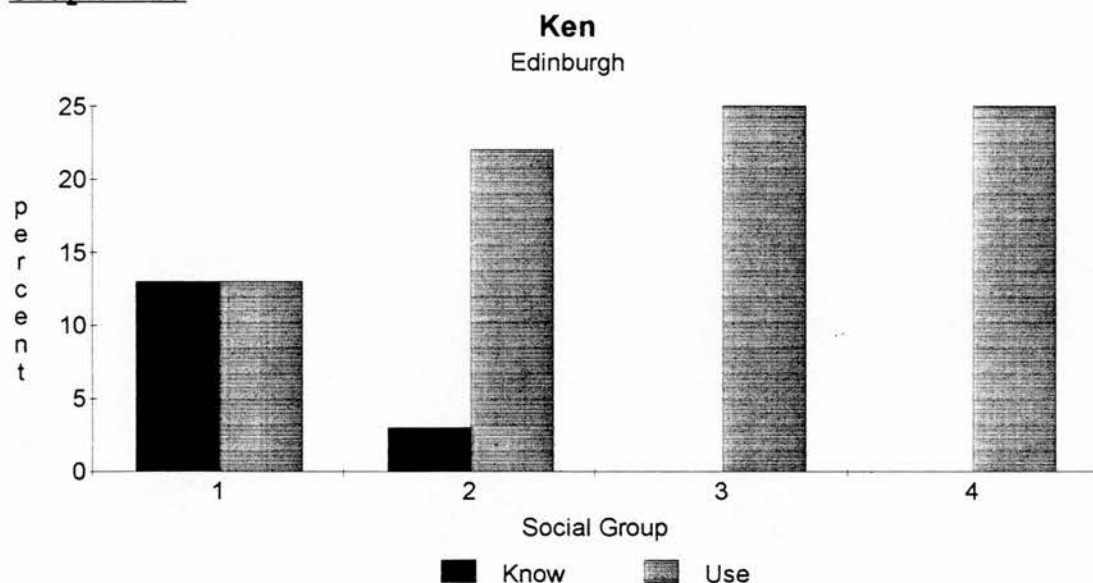
We seem to have missed out on the *ken*. You get Edinburgh and that saying *ken*, you get folk down in Ayr saying *ken* and yet we seem to have missed that out.

Another surprising response to the inquiry about the use of the word *ken* came from one of the informants who claimed to use the word. This informant was a member of Social Group 1, and was in her early 30's. Because previous interviews had suggested that this word appeared to be restricted to informants from an older age group and a lower social group in Glasgow, this informant was asked why she used *ken*. She stated that having lived in England for a number of years when she had first qualified as a vet, she was anxious to display her Scottish identity to her English colleagues and neighbours. She claimed to have started using words which she considered to be most indicative of "Scottish-ness" (such as *ken*) while living in England in order to present herself as separate in identity from English people. This is an extreme case of language being used as an identity marker, as this informant's speech did not feature this word before she believed her identity to be under threat. It is interesting that one of the words which this informant believed to be the most indicative of Scottish identity is one which people from her native city do not tend to have as a common feature of their speech. Similarly, the fact that all of the informants in Glasgow know what this word means, and that several of them commented that they thought it was strange that *ken* is not a common feature of Glasgow speech suggests that this item is considered to be highly representative of

Scottish speech in a way that no other lexical item (included in the questionnaire, at least) is.

In Edinburgh the verb *to ken* is a common feature of speech, and its use is shown by Graph 12 to be subject to sociolinguistic variation.

Graph 12.



In Edinburgh, the sociolinguistic variation displayed by the use of the word *ken* is very clear in its nature. The number of informants who claimed to know the word, but not to use it decreases as social group declines from 1 to 4. Graph 12 shows, in fact, that nobody from the two lower social groups claimed to know but not use the word. It is an interesting sociolinguistic point that all those from Social Group 1 who claimed that they use this word are males. Therefore, the sociolinguistic variation of the use of *ken* shows that this word is perceived by the

people of Edinburgh as indicative not only of Scottishness, but also lower social status, and this perception of it being indicative of lower social status is stronger in middle-class women (who tend to avoid its use) than it is in middle-class men.

5.1.3 BURROO, BACHLE, CLOSE, SKLIFF, FEART

The results detailed in the previous section suggest that language contact generated in an Edinburgh to Glasgow direction is minimal. It is likely that this is attributable to the fact that the dialect of Edinburgh receives far less media attention and perception by society in Scotland generally, and the city of Edinburgh itself. This is the converse of the language contact which occurs in a Glasgow to Edinburgh direction, as with more notoriety in Britain as a whole, and more media attention, the people of Edinburgh are more aware of specifically Glasgow dialect linguistic features than Glaswegians are of Edinburgh ones. This is illustrated by the results for lexical items such as *bachle* and even the *buroo*, as more than one Edinburgh commented on the fact that these terms are more characteristic of the speech of Glaswegians than of people from Edinburgh: in the words of Edinburgh Informant "B" (male, age 31-45, social group 3), "as in Rab C. Nesbitt's 'buroo'?".

BUROO

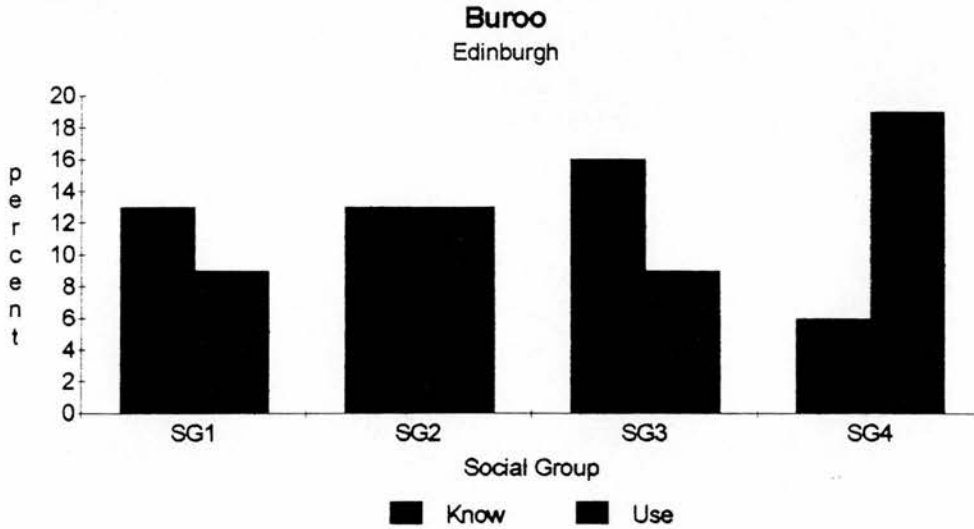
This item is a noun which, in the singular, is always preceded by the definite article. Informants were, therefore, asked what *the buroo* is, and in this case the researcher's pronunciation of the word was imperative as many of the informants mentioned that they would not have recognised it from its spelling. It was spelt <buroo> due to that being the spelling used by Agutter and Cowan (1981) and the CSD, which defines it as "the Unemployment Benefit Office". Due to the many changes the "Unemployment Benefit Offices" have undergone, especially in recent years, a wide range of definitions was accepted for this item. These ranged from "the DSS" (most recent name for it), to "the Labour Bureau" (oldest name for it within this century). Both the CSD and Agutter and Cowan (1981) maintain that the item can be found throughout Scotland.

It was included in the questionnaire in order to confirm Agutter and Cowan's contention that this item is a feature of the speech of those from Central Scotland (for the purposes of this study, Glasgow and Edinburgh).

Only one informant from the Edinburgh sample could not define what is meant by *the buroo*. The results compiled from the answers of the remaining thirty-one Edinburgh

informants (who were able to define it) show no significant difference in the distribution of this word in terms of either age group or gender. Graph 13 shows the results when they are correlated with social group.

Graph 13.



As Graph 13 shows, members of the lowest social group are the most likely to use this word, while members of Social Groups 1 and 3 are the least likely. This suggests the usual type of sociolinguistic variation found in studies of urban speech habits, as the third highest social group, in aspiring towards the prestige form, seem to be less inclined to use the term *the buroo* than those who are members of Social Group 2. The large number of informants from Social Group 4 who reported that they do use this term also indicates that in Edinburgh *the buroo* is a feature of lower social class speech, and as such is stigmatised as far as the middle classes in Edinburgh are concerned.

The results for the Glasgow sample are somewhat different. All but four of the Glasgow informants, representing all of the social groups and age groups, claimed that they use the term *the buroo*. All four of those who claimed that although they know of the item they would not use it were female. With so few informants claiming not to use it, it is difficult to say that this shows that *the buroo* is subject to variation on the basis of gender, but it is interesting that not one of the males interviewed claimed to avoid this term. The results for the Glasgow sample do show, however, that any sociolinguistic variation, and stigmatisation of this item is far less prevalent in Glasgow than it is in Edinburgh. In fact, the overall impression was that for many of the Glasgow informants the use of this term is covert. This is illustrated by the comments of several informants eg., Glasgow Informant "U" (male, age 60+, social group 3) "*The buroo to me is 'the buroo' - the buroo's 'the buroo'.*".

BACHLE

Informants were asked to define the noun *bachle*. The CSD states that this can mean "an old shoe", "an old, useless person or thing" or "an untidy person or thing". Agutter and Cowan (1981) claim that it is used in Lothian as an adjective to mean "an untidy, clumsy person", citing

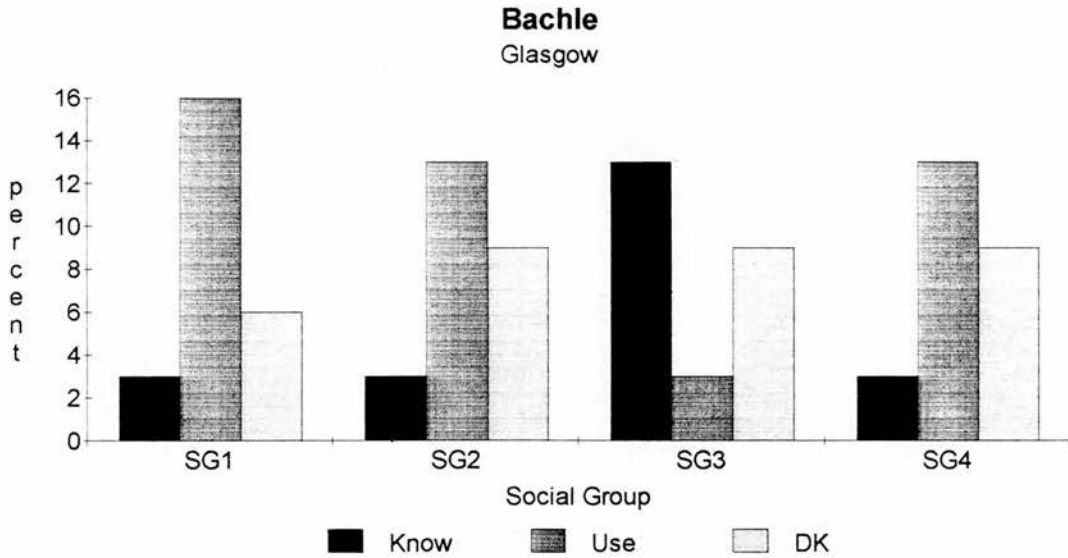
Agutter (1979) as their source. It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the sociolinguistic variation of the use of this word, and in order to ascertain whether or not Agutter and Cowan's findings in Lothian still hold true.

The spelling of this item can be <bauchle>, but <bachle> was used in the questionnaire because the Edinburgh study was to be done first, and the CSD states that this spelling is a better representation of the Lothian pronunciation of the word. Agutter and Cowan (1981) also use the spelling <bachle>, but several of the Edinburgh informants who knew what this word meant claimed that the spelling was wrong, <bauchle> being the correct spelling of the word, and all who knew it pronounced it [bɔxl]. The CSD states that this item is pronounced [bɔxl] in the west of Scotland, so the intention was to show a card with the <bauchle> spelling to the Glasgow informants, but those Glasgow informants who knew the word claimed that it is pronounced [baxl].

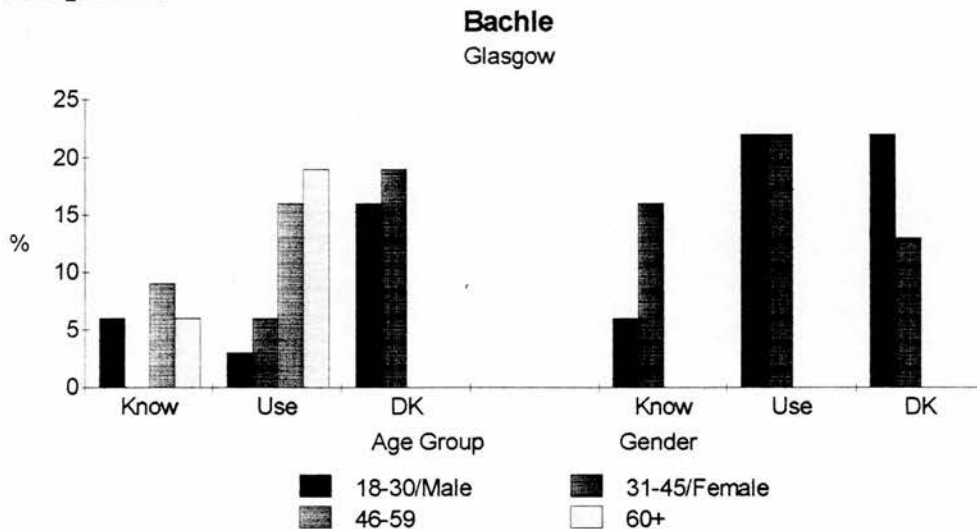
The results for this item differ greatly between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and in neither city did the definition "untidy, clumsy person" seem appropriate. In Glasgow this noun appears to always mean "an old, fat, working class person (specifically a woman)". The sociolinguistic

variation of its use in Glasgow is illustrated in Graphs 14 and 15.

Graph 14.



Graph 15.

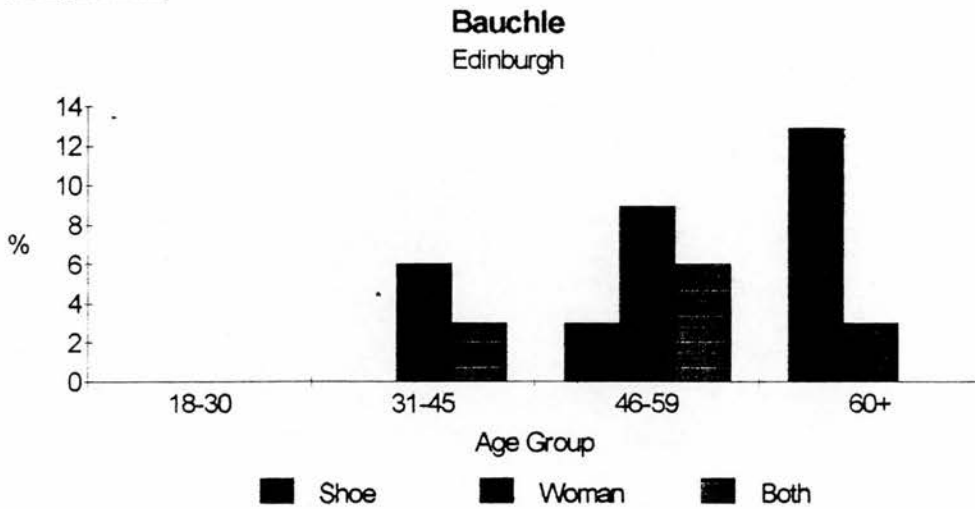


Graph 14 shows that the word *bachle* is known, used, and not known by a relatively similar number of people when these informants are split into their relevant social groups. Graph 15, however, shows that the sociolinguistic variation of *bachle* in Glasgow has more to do with age

group than social class. Graph 15 shows that only five informants from the two youngest age groups know of this word, and of these, only three actually use it. All the informants from the two older age groups know of this word, and the vast majority of them claimed also to use it.

When correlated with gender, the results for *bachle* show that while more women than men know of this word, an equal number use it. It would, thus appear that the sociolinguistic variation of *bachle* concerns only age group in any significant way. This points towards the impending loss of this item, as if the younger members of a society tend not to know of or use a word, that word, as a feature of speech in any particular geographical area, can be said to be in decline.

The results for the Edinburgh sample are more complicated than those for Glasgow. In Edinburgh, it appears that the noun *bauchle* can mean "an old shoe" as well as "an old, fat, working-class woman". This study found that of the thirty-two Edinburgh informants, a total of seventeen do not know what this word means. Of the remaining fifteen informants, eight believed that it means "shoes" and nine thought it means "clumsy woman" (three informants gave both answers). Graph 16 shows the distribution of the considered meaning of this word in terms of age group.

Graph 16.

As Graph 16 shows, the vast majority of those who believe that *bauchle* means "shoe" are those aged 60+, while the majority of those who believe that it means "old woman" represent the two "middle" age groups ie., are aged 31 to 59. This suggests that the "shoe" meaning is an older interpretation of this word and the "old woman" meaning is a newer one. Either way, however, this word is undoubtedly in decline as those of the youngest age group are unaware of either meaning. The fact that only the oldest informants in this study know this word as meaning "shoe", and the fact that none of them claimed to use this word, shows us that *bauchle* meaning "shoe" is declining faster, and, thus, will become obsolete in Edinburgh before *bauchle* meaning "clumsy woman". In this way, it is not unlikely that the majority of Agutter's informants in 1979 knew and used the word *bauchle* to mean "clumsy, untidy woman" (though this definition itself is in serious dispute), but it is strange that she did not record anyone in Lothian who claimed that this word means

"shoe", as at that time there would have been more people who would remember the use of this word with that meaning. The results for this study appear to bear out Agutter's findings anyway because the number of informants who have not heard of the word are too great to justify stating that the main meaning of this word is "untidy, clumsy woman". In fact, as several of the informants who knew the word as representing that meaning (or rather, "old, fat, working-class woman") pointed out, it is perceived as a Glasgow word, borrowed by the speakers of Edinburgh to refer to a specific stereotype of a Glaswegian woman. As Edinburgh Informant "SG" (female, age 60+, social group 4) pointed out:

'Bauchle', aye. Now that's associated wi Glasgow quite a lot isn't it? 'Bauchle'..is it no somebody that's down-trodden, things like that. I've heard the saying 'wee Glasgow bauchle', you know, but I've never heard it used - no they don't use it here. They use it a lot referring to Glasgow, you know. If you watch some of the programmes that Rab Nesbitt - that what you're talking about - that would be something he would use quite a lot, yeah.

In this way, then, the use of this word in Edinburgh tends to be used to refer specifically to Glasgow, and is used with this meaning overtly to convey a message with a peculiarly Glaswegian emphasis. If this is the case, it would be inappropriate to claim that *bauchle* is a feature of Edinburgh speech which is declining in the same way as other lexical items indigenous to Edinburgh are. It would appear on the strength of the findings when correlated

with age group that this meaning has been adopted into the speech of those from Edinburgh, and is used in almost the same way as slang can be, in that its presence in the speech of Edinburgh people appears to be anecdotal and transient. There is insufficient evidence to be able to deduce whether or not the "old woman" meaning has had any detrimental effect on the "shoe" meaning for the same word, because so few informants are aware of the "shoe" meaning at this time. It seems most likely, though, that the effect of the introduction of the "old woman" meaning has had little (if any) effect on the status of the "shoe" meaning as it appears that the "shoe" meaning has been in decline since before the introduction of the "woman" meaning. Also, the fact that Agutter apparently found no-one in Lothian who knew of the "shoe" meaning in 1979, shows that this meaning has been on the verge of obsolescence for considerably longer than the time in which the "woman" meaning has been a feature of the language spoken in Edinburgh.

CLOSE

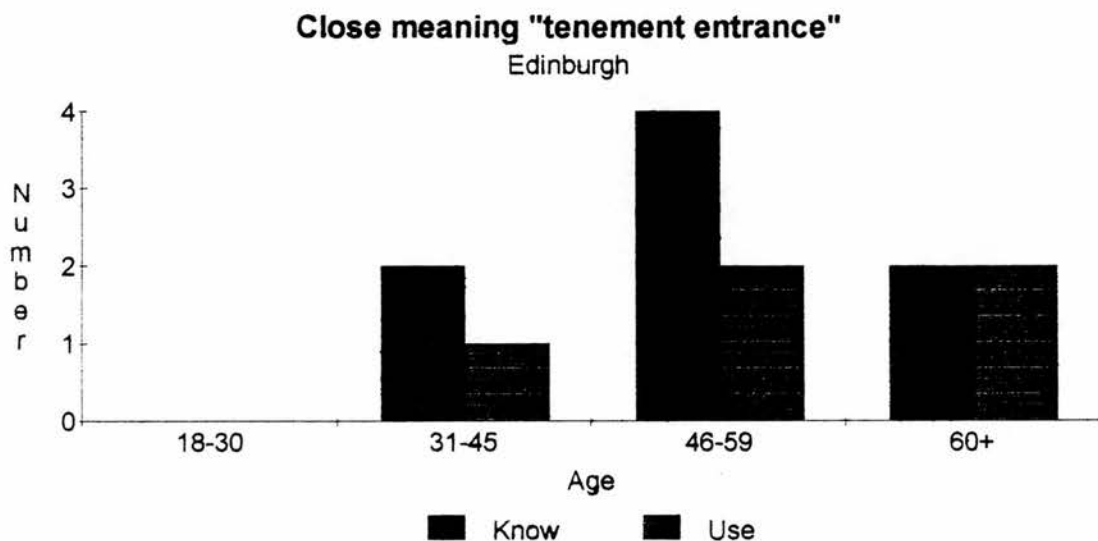
The noun *close*, according to the CSD, can mean "a courtyard", "an alley" or "the entrance to a tenement". Of these three meanings it states that the first two pertain to Edinburgh speech, and the third to the speech of people in the West of Scotland. This item was, thus,

included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether informants from the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh retained separate meanings for this same word.

During the interviews in Glasgow, no informant mentioned any meaning other than "the entrance to a tenement". In Edinburgh, twenty of the thirty-two informants claimed that a *close* is an alleyway, eleven claimed that it was a tenement entrance, and one informant claimed that she knew both meanings but used the word for "an alleyway". As the "alleyway" meaning is said to be characteristic of the speech of people from Edinburgh it came as a surprise to discover that those who claimed that a *close* is a tenement entrance included informants from the older three age groups, as illustrated in Graph 17.

NB. Graph 17 represents informants from all social groups and both genders.

Graph 17.



While bearing in mind that Graph 17 represents only a relatively small number of informants, it is important to note that the meaning "tenement entrance" cannot be said to be an introduction of a West Coast meaning into the dialect of Edinburgh as none of the informants from Age Group 18-30 claimed to know this meaning, and any innovation would be most likely to come from those of a younger age group.

The sociolinguistic variation of the use of this word (to mean either "tenement entrance" in Glasgow or "alleyway" in Edinburgh) is relatively similar in the two cities. All but one of the Glasgow informants claimed to use a *close* ie., there appears to be no sociolinguistic variation as concerns this word in Glasgow. When Glaswegians of any social group, age or gender are referring to the entrance to a tenement they use the word *close*. Similarly, the variation in the use of *close* in Edinburgh is not subject to a huge amount of variation as only six informants claimed to know of the word but do not use it, and these six informants represent social groups ranging from Social Group 1 to 3. Of the informants from Social Group 4 who believe that *close* means "an alleyway", all claimed to use the word. This infers that while *close* is not subject to sociolinguistic variation in Glasgow, the extent to which it is in

Edinburgh is also relatively small with most informants actually using the word to mean "an alleyway".

SKLIFF

The CSD states that the noun *skliff* has several meanings which pertain to the West Coast or the East Coast / Lothian area. These are:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. "A shuffling noise" | East Coast |
| 2. "An old shoe" | Lothian |
| 3. "A swipe" or "the noise of a swipe" | Lothian and
West Coast |
| 4. "A segment" | Lothian and
West Coast |

In Edinburgh, all but one informant were unable to define the meaning of this word. The one informant who did claim to know what it means defined it as the verb "swipe". This suggests that all four of the meanings outlined above, which are said to be attributable to the language used in the East Coast and Lothian, are either no longer, or have never been features of the speech of the people of Edinburgh.

The results from Glasgow were more fruitful. Although seventeen of the total thirty-two Glasgow informants claimed that they do not know what *skliff* means, eight

claimed that it means "to swipe" or "to scuff (your feet)", two claimed that it means "a slice or segment", and five claimed that it can mean either of the above. This is consistent with the CSD's account of this word, as any meaning other than these two is not said to be characteristic of the speech of people in the west of Scotland.

When these responses are correlated with age group the results are as illustrated in Graph 18.

Graph 18.



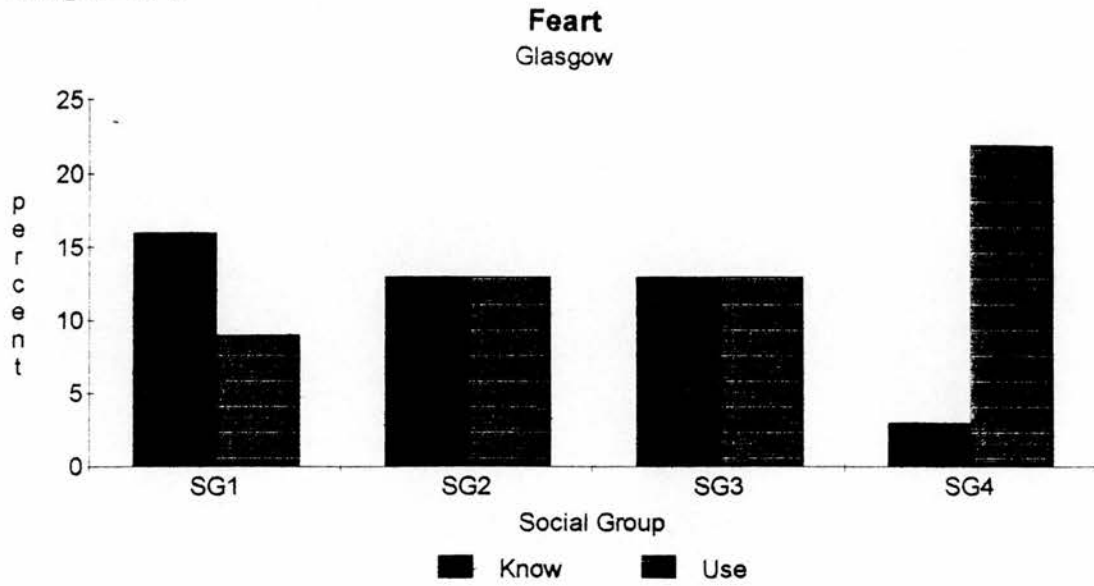
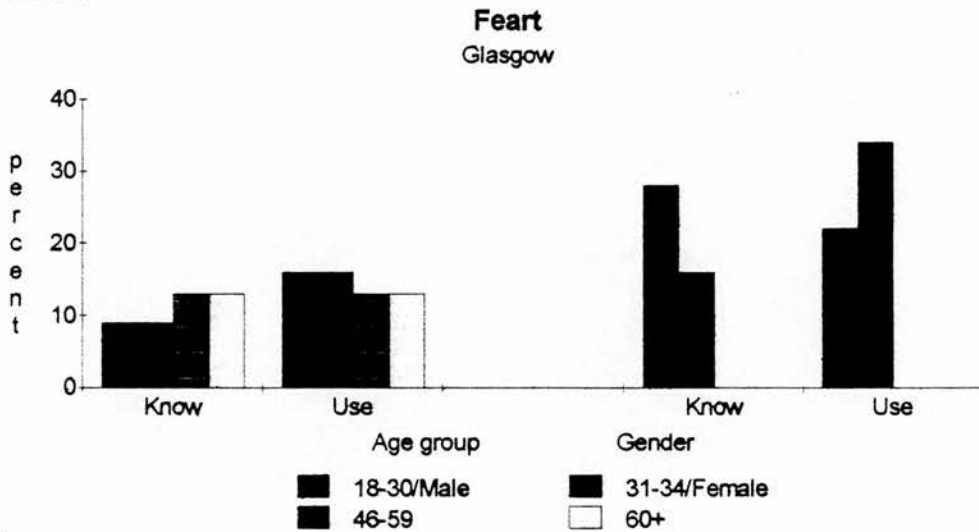
Graph 18 shows that all of the informants who know at least one meaning of *skliff* are aged over 46 years. These results suggest that the meaning "segment" is less well-known than the meaning "to swipe", as more informants reported that they either know both meanings or "to swipe" only than those who reported that they only know the meaning "segment". This word, meaning either "segment" or "swipe", appears to be in decline in Glasgow

(as well as Edinburgh), as Graph 18 shows that no-one under the age of 46 claimed to have heard of the word. Of the informants who claimed that they did know at least one of the meanings of *skliff*, ten stated that they also use it. Of these ten informants, only two claimed that it is the "segment" meaning that they use. This reinforces the above contention that "segment" is a lesser known meaning than "swipe" for the word *skliff*.

FEART

To be feart means "to be scared", and according to the CSD it is a feature of Renfrewshire, Glasgow and Ayrshire speech. It was included in the questionnaire in order to examine the sociolinguistic variation of its use (if any) in Glasgow, and to investigate whether or not this item is also a feature of the language variety spoken in Edinburgh.

All of the informants from Glasgow knew this word, and around half of them claimed also to use it. When these figures are correlated with social group, and with age group and gender the results are as in Graphs 19 and 20.

Graph 19.Graph 20.

Graph 19 shows that while everyone in the Glasgow sample knew of the word *feart*, informants from Social Group 1 tended, more than anyone else, to avoid the use of the word. This, along with the tendency of those from Social Group 4 to be those most likely to use it, shows that the adjective *feart* is subject to sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class.

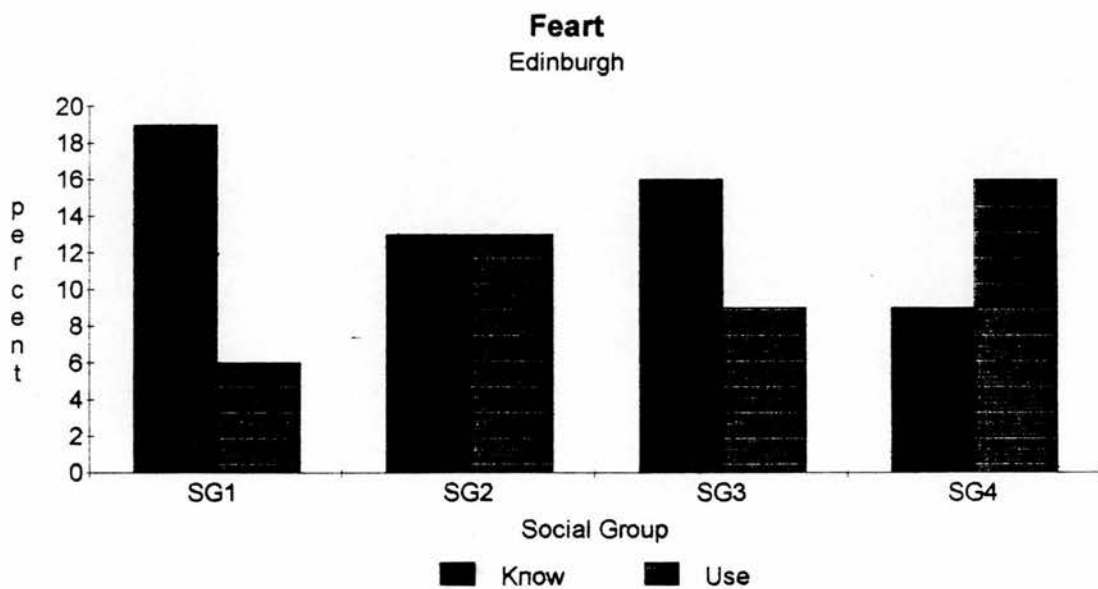
Graph 20 shows that variation of the use of *feart* does not concern age group, as those of the highest age group are almost as likely to use the word as those of the youngest age group, and that throughout the age range there appear no significant differences in usage. This suggests that *feart* is not undergoing any decline and as such is not facing obsolescence in Glasgow.

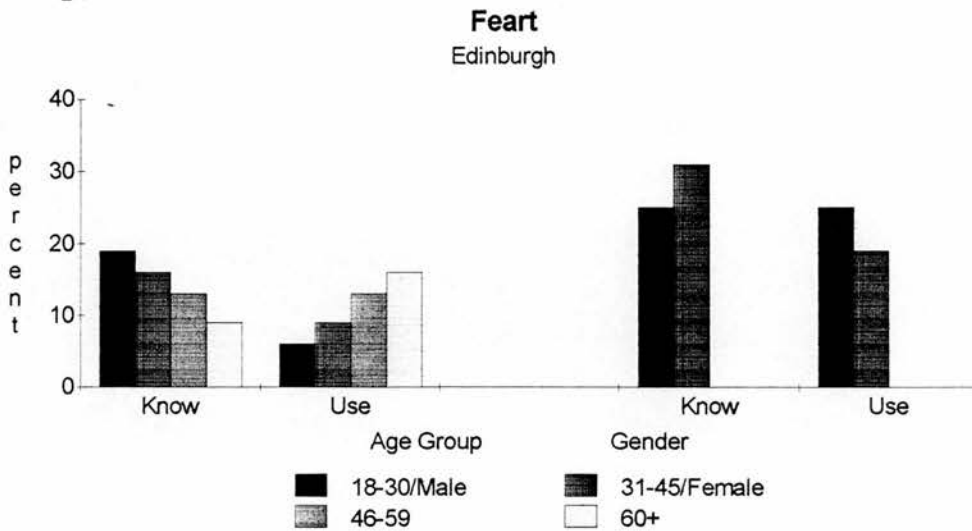
Graph 20 also shows the variation of usage of *feart* in terms of gender. Surprisingly, the results for this study show that men are more prone to avoiding this word, while it is women who are most likely to use it. This is an unusual result for a study of this nature as most sociolinguistic investigations (eg., Labov 1972, Trudgill 1972) have found that where there is a choice between a standard and a non-standard option, females tend to choose the standard option more often than males (see §1.2 above). This concept has been convincingly challenged by Milroy (1980) as her results from her study of Belfast showed that in communities where it is women rather than men who have a more active role in the society eg., in areas of high male unemployment where the women take on the role of the "breadwinner" and, thus, interact in the same way as males have traditionally done, it is females rather than males who display the use of more non-standard linguistic forms (see previously at §1.4.2). This does not explain the results for

feart in Glasgow, however, as none of the districts of the city from which any of the informants live in has a significantly different male/female unemployment rate. This lexical item can, therefore, be said to be somewhat unique in its distribution as this distribution appears to be contrary to usual sociolinguistic variation.

Surprisingly, the results from the Edinburgh sample are very similar to those from the Glasgow sample despite the fact that the CSD does not state that *feart* is a feature of the language spoken there. Graphs 21 and 22 illustrate the Edinburgh results.

Graph 21.



Graph 22.

Graph 21 shows that while the usual sociolinguistic situation of the highest social group avoiding the use of this word, and the lowest being the most likely to use it prevails, there is discrepancy for Social group 3. Informants from Social Group 3 appear to be less likely to use the word *feart* than informants from Social Group 2. Again, this is surprising as the usual situation is that there is a consistent decline in the use of a non-standard form as social grouping declines. This discrepancy is, most likely, created by the fact that the third highest social group in society aspire towards the prestige accent more than the second highest, a theory evidenced by the results of many empirical sociolinguistic studies (eg., Labov 1972, see §1.4.1 above). It is surprising to find this tendency in a study of this relatively small size, however, as a trend such as this is usually only uncoverable if there is a large amount of informants, and a greater division of them by

social class. As a result, we must be aware of the fact that although the results for this study seem to show this tendency occurring in Edinburgh (at least as far as concerns this particular lexical item), these results could be entirely based on chance, and as such could be entirely different if an equal number of different informants had been interviewed.

Graph 22 shows that the use of *feart* increases directly as age group increases. This suggests that this item is in decline in Edinburgh as those of the youngest age group are very much less likely to use the word than those of the highest age group, and an age related decrease in usage usually points to the overall decline of an item through time.

Graph 22 also shows gender based results which are contrary to those found in Glasgow. There appears to exist in Edinburgh the 'usual' sociolinguistic variation of usage of this item as regards gender ie., women tend to avoid the use of the word more than men.

The most important aspect of these results, however, is the fact that they show that *feart* is far from exclusive to West Scotland as this study shows that not only has this item been shown to be a feature of the language of the people of Edinburgh, but that it is subject to

sociolinguistic variation and decline. It would be interesting, in view of these results, to discover whether or not *to be feart* is a feature of the speech of those of the entire Central-East Coast of Scotland, and why it is perceived as a West Coast word by dialectologists and sociolinguists alike.

5.1.4 CHECK, CLYPE, GREET, KEEK, SORE HEAD, COUP

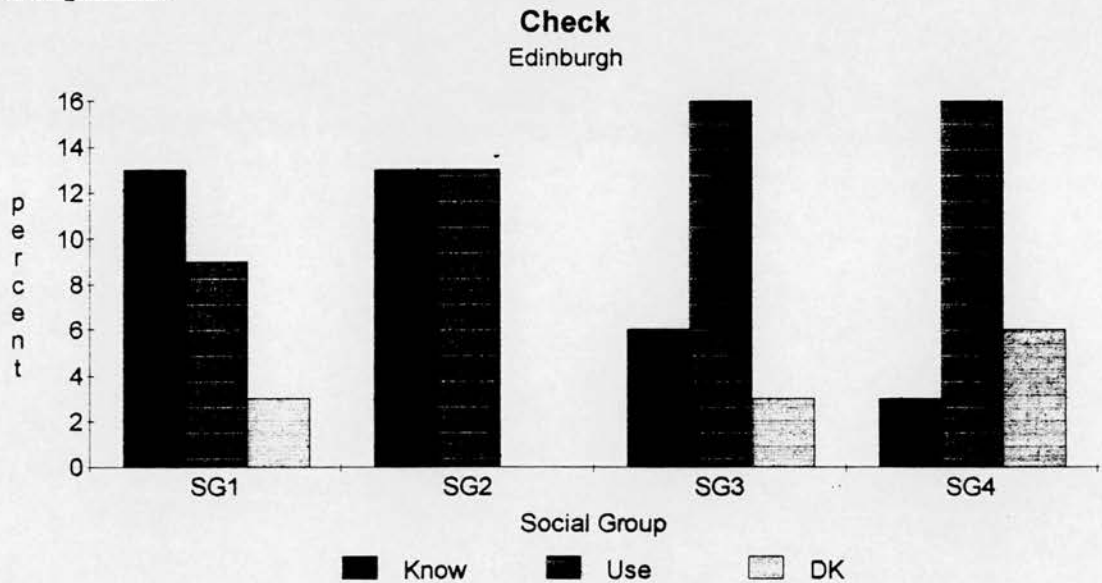
The main body of the lexis part of the questionnaire was intended to be a straightforward look at the sociolinguistic variation of Scots lexical items. The aim here was to establish the extent to which the sociolinguistic variation of lexical items occurs in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to observe any differences in sociolinguistic distribution there might exist between the two cities. For this purpose general Scots items such as *check* and *greet* were used as it was believed that they would be common features of both the dialect speech of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

CHECK

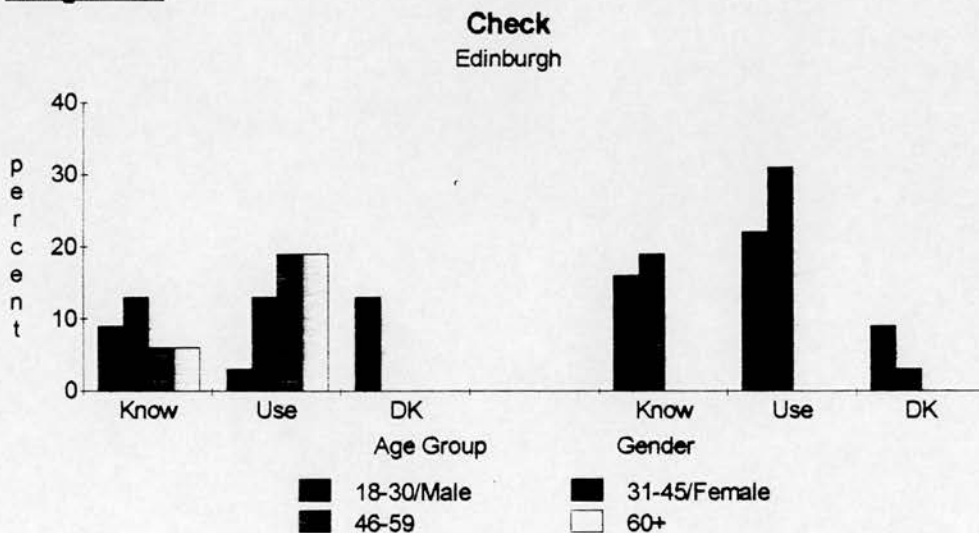
Informants were asked to define *to check a child*, as in "to reprimand". The CSD includes this word as *chack* and defines it as "to rebuke" or "to reprove", claiming that it can be found throughout Scotland. It was included in

the questionnaire in order to investigate the extent to which it is subject to sociolinguistic variation in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Graphs 23 and 24 show the results for the Edinburgh sample.

Graph 23.



Graph 24.



Graph 23 shows that informants from Social Groups 1 and 2 are less likely to use to check than informants from Social Groups 3 and 4. This suggests that, in Edinburgh,

the distribution of the use of the item is subject to the 'usual' sociolinguistic variation.

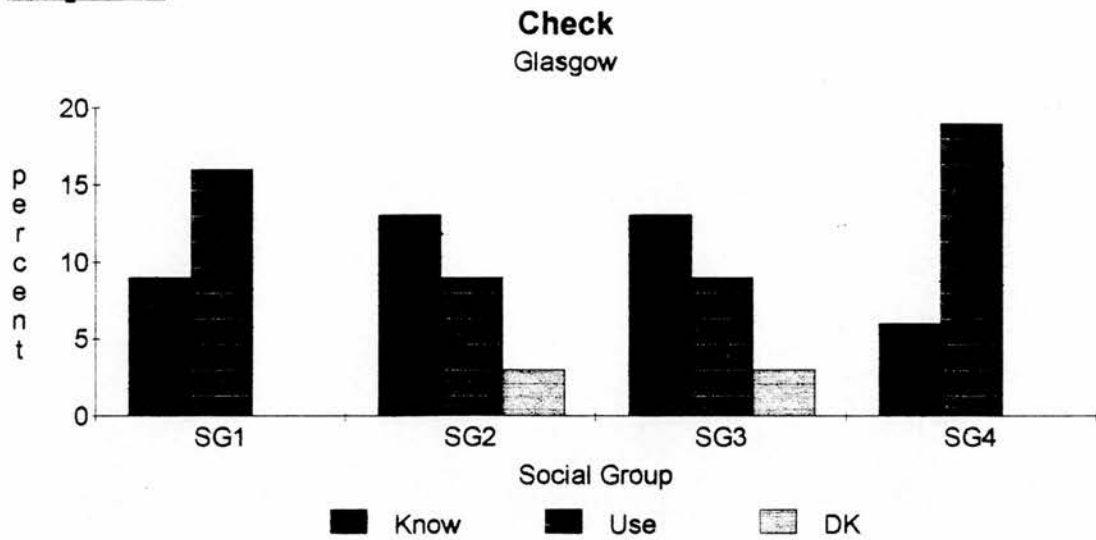
The results when the figures are correlated with age group are more revealing. Graph 24 shows that those informants from Age Groups 46-59 and 60+ are most likely to use the word, and that this trend declines as chronological age declines. In fact, the decline appears to have been at its most extreme very recently as the results show that while most of those who represent Age Group 46-59 and 60+ use the word, most of those who represent Age Group 18-30 (the youngest age group) claimed, in this study, to have never heard of it. If this trend continues at the same rate, it would appear that in Edinburgh the verb *check* meaning "to reprimand" will be obsolete in the foreseeable future.

The results when correlated with gender contradict common sociolinguistic theory in the same way as those from Glasgow concerning the word *feart* have been shown to do (§5.1.3 above). Graph 24 shows that females are more likely to either know of or use *check* than males. This might be explained by the fact that traditionally, the role of child rearing and, thus, discipline has been the mother's, and as such females have had more cause to know this word than males. It is important to note, though, that whatever the reason, this study shows that gender

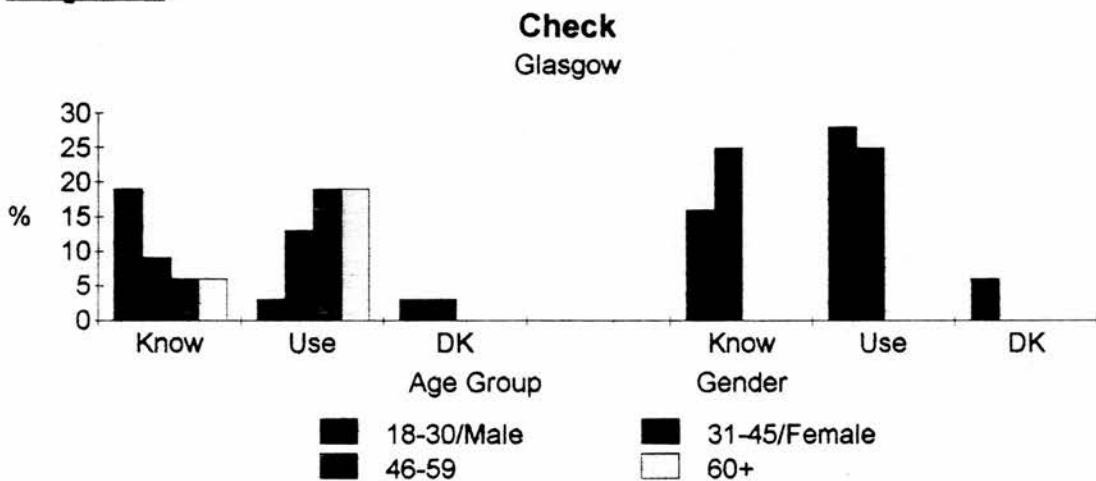
differentiation of language use is not as straightforward as has been believed by sociolinguistic researchers in the past, even when the community in question does not constitute a dense network in which gender roles are contrary to the traditional social setup.

Graphs 25 and 26 show the results from the Glasgow sample for the verb *check*.

Graph 25.



Graph 26.



Graph 25 shows that in Glasgow the sociolinguistic variation of the use of *check* is far from simple. While there is an increasing tendency to use this word as social group declines from 2 to 4, Social Group 1 actually has a higher reported incidence of the use of this word than Social Groups 2 and 3. It would, thus, appear that in Glasgow the use of *check* is perceived as being socially stigmatised, and as such tends to be avoided by those in the middle social groups, when it is, in fact, considered by those in the highest social group to be an acceptable alternative to "reprimand". As pointed out previously at §1.2, the middle social groups in society can aspire towards the prestige accent in such a way as they can actually hypercorrect their speech and as such can stigmatise and, thus, avoid the use of a greater number of non-standard linguistic features more often than those of the highest social group. Again, however, it is important to state that this study **might** be showing this sociolinguistic phenomenon, as it could be the case that the results shown in Graph 25 are actually based entirely on chance.

The Glasgow results for *check* when correlated with age group show a similar trend as the equivalent results from the Edinburgh sample. Graph 26 shows that those of a higher age group are more likely to use the word than those of a younger age group, and that informants who

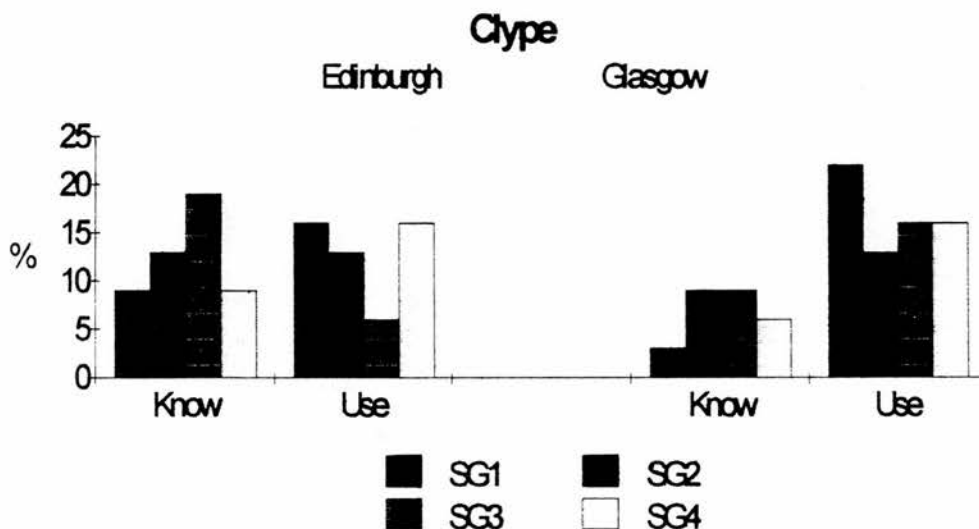
claimed that they do not know of this item are from the two youngest age groups. Similar to the situation in Edinburgh, then, it would appear from the results of this study that in Glasgow *to check* (meaning "to reprimand") is in decline.

The results from Glasgow, when correlated with gender, however, show a different trend from those from the Edinburgh sample. It would appear that it is men rather than women who are most likely to use this word, a trend which is consistent with common sociolinguistic theory.

CLYPE

Informants were asked to define the verb *clype*, meaning "to tell tales". Again, the CSD states that this can be found throughout Scotland. It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the sociolinguistic variation of its use.

Graph 27.

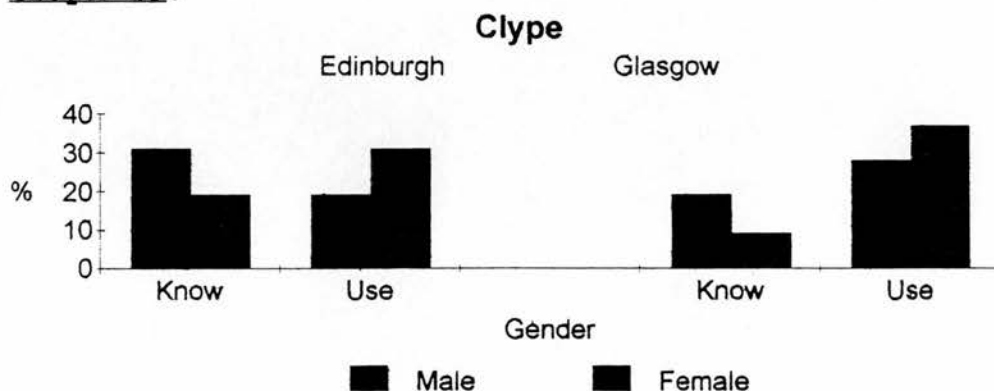


Graph 27 shows that in both Glasgow and Edinburgh the use of *clype* is characteristic of the speech of informants from all social groups. In Edinburgh there appears to be the tendency of those from Social Group 3 to avoid the use of this word, and once again, this could be explained by the theory that the third highest group in society aspires most strongly to the prestige accent. In general, however, it would seem from these results that the sociolinguistic variation of the use of this word is relatively slight. This could be due to the fact that, as several of the informants from both cities pointed out, *clype* is a feature of children's speech. As children in general do not tend to have the same social perceptions or aspirations as adults, this could explain why the use of this word can be seen to be distributed throughout the social group range.

When correlated with age group, these results show that the younger the informant the less likely he or she is to use *clype*. They also show that there is a general trend in both Glasgow and Edinburgh for the amount informants who claimed to use this word to increase as age group increases. As these results (which pertain to age group) are similar to those for the previously discussed lexical item *check* the inclusion of a graph to illustrate this trend is omitted.

When correlated with gender, however, the results for *clype* are important as they show a trend which, again, contradicts popular sociolinguistic theory.

Graph 28.



As Graph 28 shows, it appears that females in both Glasgow and Edinburgh are more likely to use the word *clype* than males. Again, this is unusual for communities which do not have an extraordinary social setup, and as such questions the sociolinguistic theory which contends that women tend to aspire to the prestige accent more than men, and as a result use fewer non-standard forms.

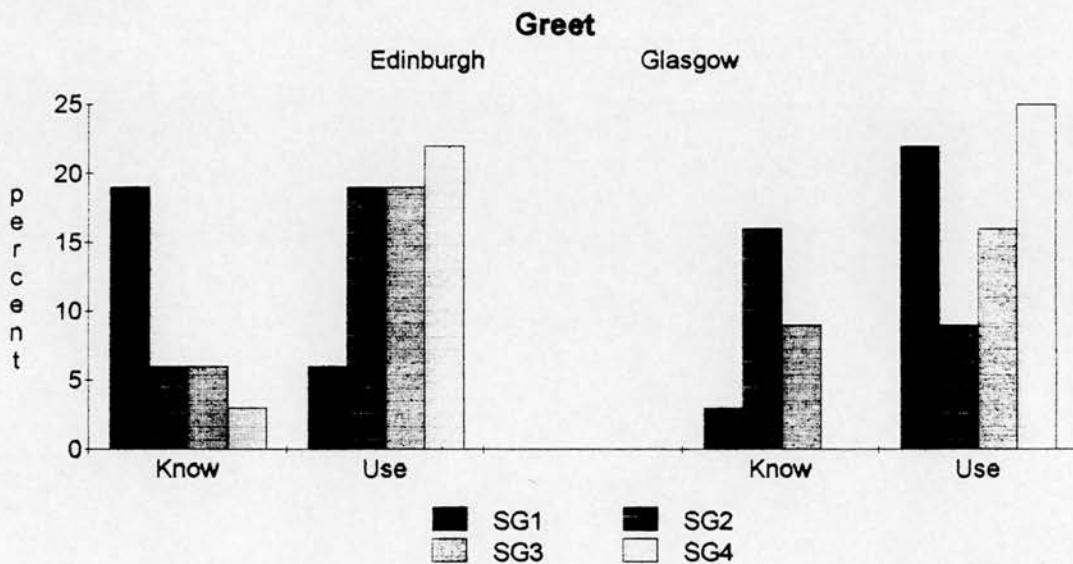
GREET

Informants were asked what the verb *greet* means. According to the CSD this item can be found throughout Scotland. It means "to meet", and in Scots, also "to cry". It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the sociolinguistic variation of the use of this word (meaning "to cry") in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

All informants from Glasgow and Edinburgh claimed to know what *to greet* means, though many were at pains to point out that it is used with either an English meaning ("to meet") or a Scots meaning ("to cry"), and that these two meanings for the same word exist side by side in Scotland. Predictably, this study was interested only in discovering the extent of the sociolinguistic variation of this word when it means "to cry".

The results for Glasgow and Edinburgh are quite different. Graph 29 illustrates this difference in terms of variation based on social group.

Graph 29.

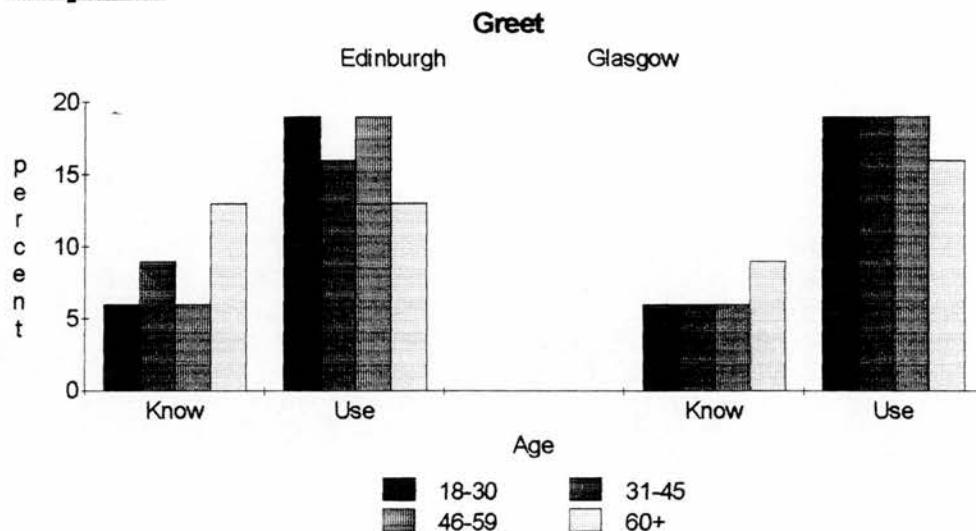


Graph 29 shows that the results for this study suggest that in Edinburgh the social variation of the use of the verb *greet* is a straightforward case of its use increasing as social group declines from 1 to 4. The

results for the Glasgow sample are less straightforward, however, as Graph 29 shows that informants from Social Groups 1 and 4 are the most likely to use this word with those from Social Groups 2 and 3 being less likely. This rather strange pattern can be explained by the theory that the middle social groups tend to aspire towards the prestige accent to the extent where they actually use less non-standard linguistic forms than the highest social group. This theory, however, is based on evidence which shows that members of the third highest social group tend to avoid the use of non-standard linguistic forms more than the two highest groups. The Glasgow results for this item do not suggest that this is the case, so we must conclude that with insufficient informants it is difficult to say anything more than there appears to be complex sociolinguistic variation of the use of *to greet* meaning "to cry" in Glasgow.

While there is no significant difference in the results when they are correlated with gender, it is interesting to note that the differences that do exist in the results when they are correlated with age group, however slight, appear to show that age-related sociolinguistic variation of *to greet* is the converse of that for most Scots lexical items. Graph 30 illustrates this.

Graph 30

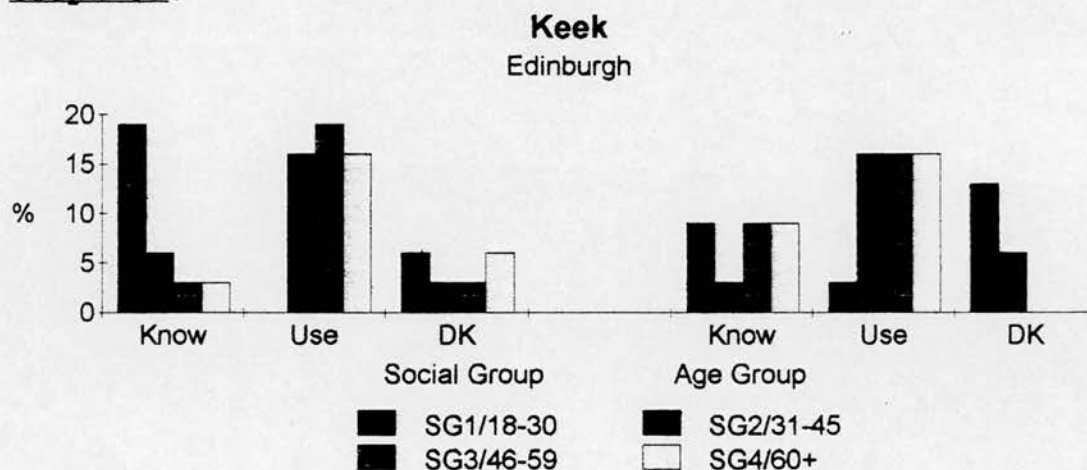


Graph 30 shows that the results for Edinburgh and Glasgow when correlated with age group are similar. The usual pattern for Scots lexical items when correlated with age group is that the older an informant, the less likely he or she is to use the word (if that word is an indigenous Scots item, as *greet* is). These results, however, suggest the converse of this, as there is a slight decrease in the number of informants from both Glasgow and Edinburgh aged over 60 years who claimed to use this word. Thus, it appears that people of the younger age groups are more likely to use *to greet* than those of the highest age group. On the basis of this finding it would, then, appear that this item is not threatened by time-orientated obsolescence, and, indeed, it seems that use of *to greet* is actually increasing as time continues.

KEEK

The verb *keek* means "to peek", as in "look". The CSD states that this item is used throughout Scotland. It was included in the questionnaire purely because of the fact that it has not been included in any previous sociolinguistic study.

Keek is subject to sociolinguistic variation in both Edinburgh and Glasgow. Graph 31 refers to the results from Edinburgh.

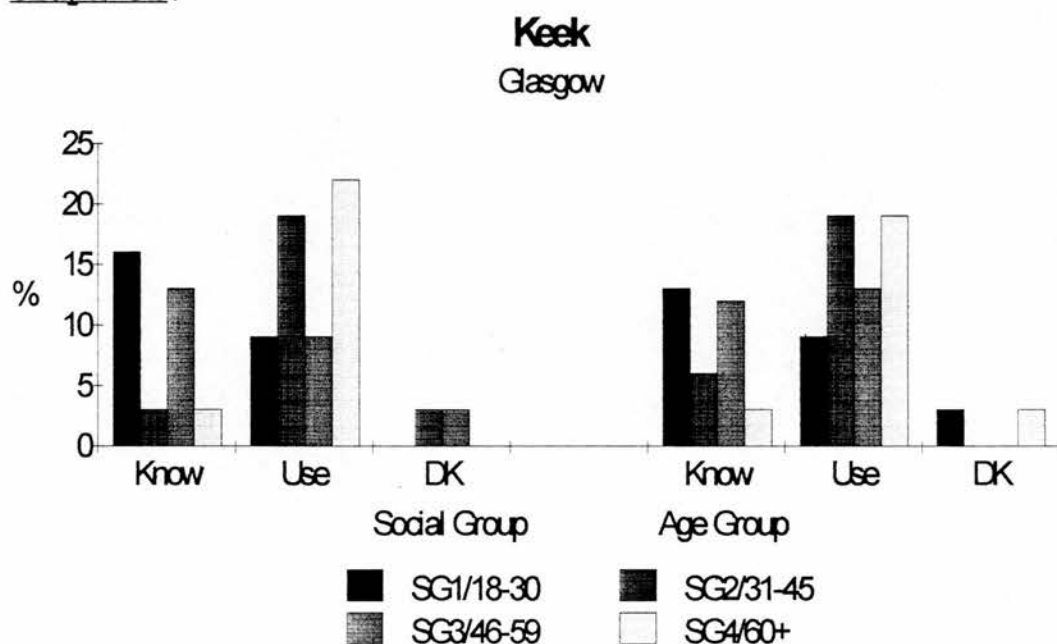
Graph 31.

Graph 31 shows that, in Edinburgh, informants from Social Group 1 do not tend to use *keek*, though they do know what it means. Informants from all other social groups use it. This implies that in Edinburgh this word is socially stigmatised, though it is interesting that the second highest social group do not appear to be aware of the stigma Social Group 1 seem to attach to it. As far as the

age groups are concerned, Graph 31 shows that the youngest informants tend to be least likely to know of or use the word. This implies that *keek* appears to be in decline as it would have to be used by those of the youngest age group in order for it to be retained in the long term in the speech of people from Edinburgh. There appeared no significant differences in the results for the two genders, and this suggests that usage of *keek* is not subject to gender differentiation.

Graph 32 shows the equivalent results for the Glasgow sample.

Graph 32.



Graph 32 shows that *keek* in Glasgow is also subject to sociolinguistic variation. Those in Social Group 1 tend to be relatively unlikely to use the word, though this

tendency is not as definite as Glasgow as it is in Edinburgh. Interestingly, members of the second lowest social group are as unlikely to use this item than those of Social Group 1. This implies that *keek* is socially stigmatised, but suggests that along with Social Group 1, Social Group 3 is more perceptive of this stigma than Social Groups 2 and 4. This can suggest that the third highest social group in society is more aware of sociolinguistic values than the second highest group. This appears to suggest that as many other sociolinguistic studies (eg., Labov (1972), Trudgill (1972)) have found, it is the third highest socio-economic group who are most sensitive to sociolinguistic values, in that they tend to aspire to the prestige accent to a greater extent than those of the second (and sometimes even the first) highest socio-economic group (see previously at §1.2 and §1.4.1).

Graph 32 also shows that unlike the Edinburgh informants, the youngest age group of Glasgow informants tend to know what *to keek* means, though they are the least likely to use it. This appears to suggest that, similar to the situation in Edinburgh, this verb is in decline (ie., because the youngest age group are the least likely, and the oldest age group are the most likely to use it). This decline seems, however, to be a stage behind that of Edinburgh, in that members of the youngest age group in

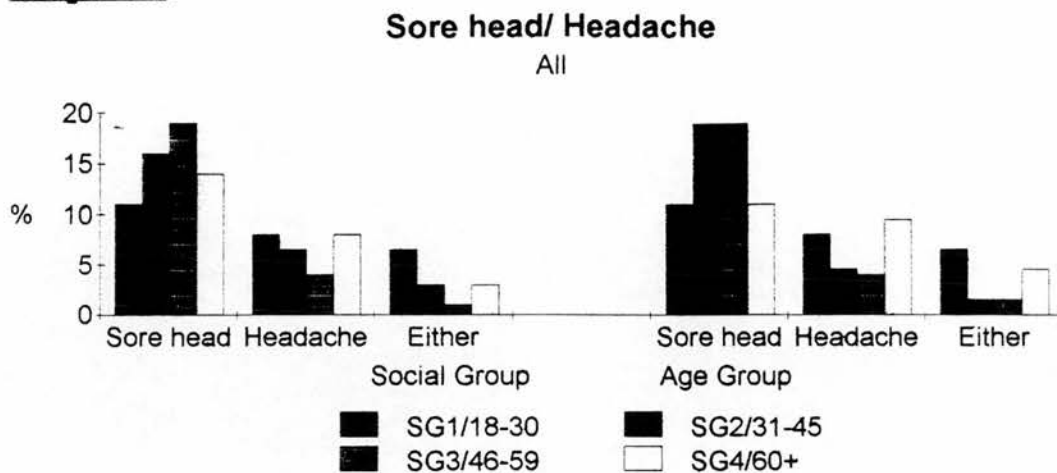
Glasgow are not ignorant of its meaning, but instead, tend to choose not to use it.

When the results from the Glasgow sample are correlated with gender, they do show that females are more likely both to know but not use, and to use *keek*, but the difference in these figures is so slight that it would be inappropriate to conclusively state that this suggests that usage of this item is subject to variation in terms of gender.

SORE HEAD

Informants were asked whether they used the idiom *sore head* more or less often than *headache*, as it has been documented by linguists such as Murison (1977:55), that Scottish people conventionally use this item more often than their English contemporaries. All pronunciations and variations of *sore head* were accepted eg., 'sair heid' [ser hid], 'sore heid' [sor hid].

The results for Glasgow and Edinburgh are very similar, so they were added together in Graph 33 to give an overall picture of the variation in the use of *headache* and *sore head*.

Graph 33.

Graph 33 shows that the use of Scots *sair heid* or SSE *sore head* is used instead of ESE *headache* by members of all social groups in Glasgow and Edinburgh. This would appear to suggest very limited sociolinguistic variation of its usage, and even covert usage, as many of the informants claimed that they had never thought about which item they use most often, but when asked, had to say that *sore head* is a more common feature of their speech than *headache*.

This notion of covert usage is reinforced by the results when correlated with age group as more informants from all of the age groups claimed to use *sore head* more often than *headache*. This suggests that there is no decline in the incidence of any variation of *sore head* as if the younger age groups do not tend to avoid its use (or even notice) there is no suggestion of it becoming replaced entirely by *headache*. It would appear, on the strength of the fact that the difference between the number of

informants who claimed to use *sore head* and the number of informants who claimed to use *headache*, that these two expressions exist side by side in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and one does not appear to be having any detrimental effect on the usage of the other. This is reinforced by the relatively large number of informants who claimed that they could not pin-point which they say most often, and as such were recorded in the results as saying either.

Again, there was no significant difference in the results when correlated with gender. Thus, even if we assume, at this stage, that females in this study are more aware of sociolinguistic values (though we cannot say that this is the case absolutely as there is insufficient evidence from any of the results to suggest this), the notion that use of *sore head* is covert for most informants is supported as females in this study are as likely as males to use it.

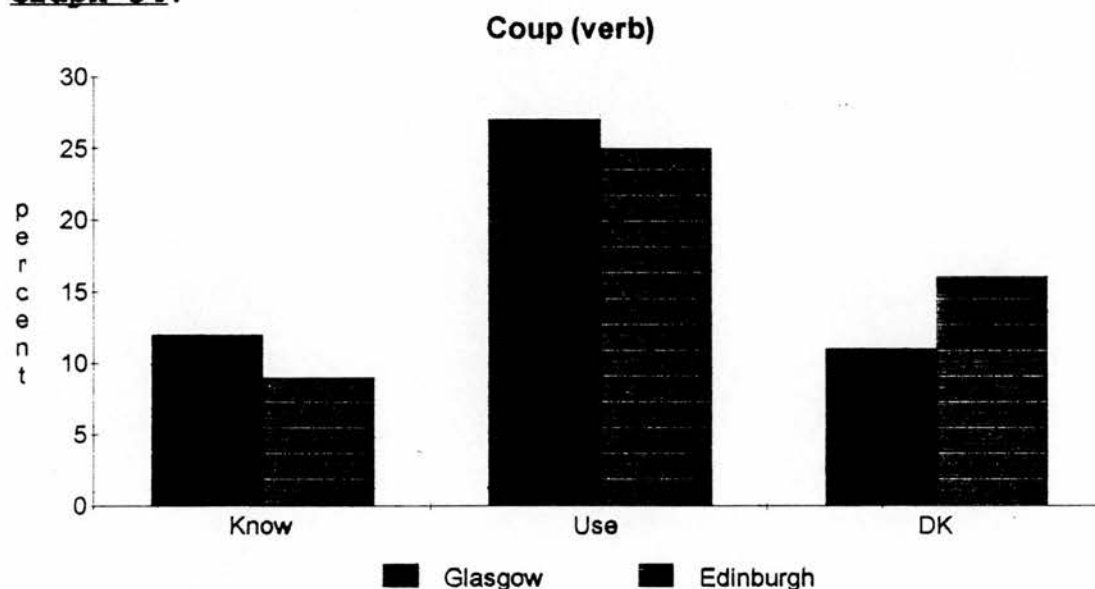
COUP

Informants were asked to define both *to coup* (meaning "to tip over") and the noun, *coup* (meaning "a rubbish heap" or, colloquially, "a mess"). According to the CSD, *to coup* is a General Scots item, and the use of *coup* as a noun can be found sporadically throughout Scotland. It

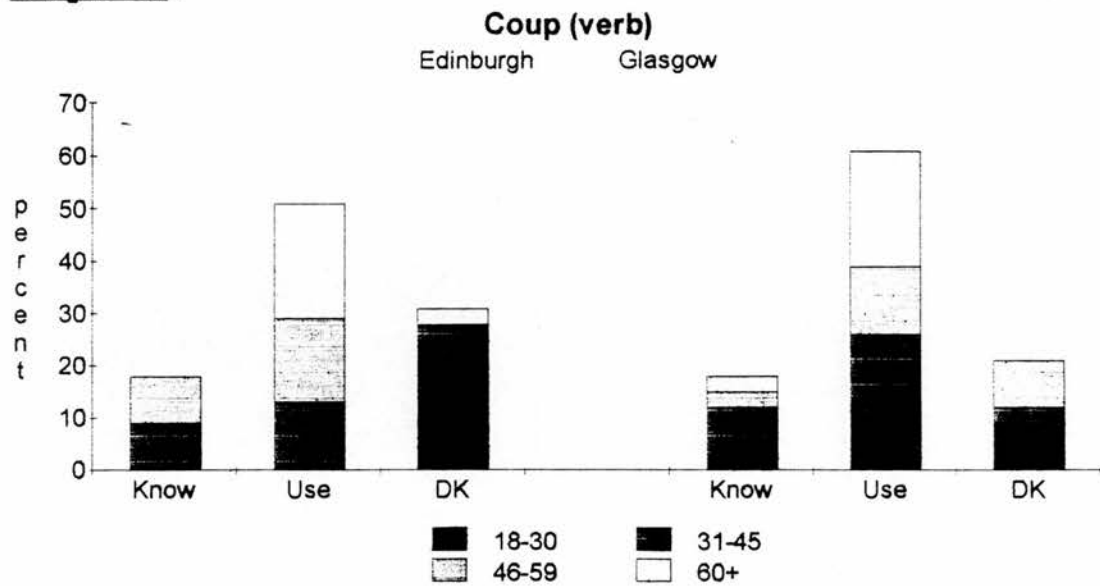
was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether or not one form of this word is used to a greater extent than the other ie., to investigate whether or not the verb form is used more than the noun form and vice-versa, and in order to investigate any differences in the sociolinguistic variation of each form.

With respect to the use of the verb form, there appears to be no significant difference between the results from Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Graph 34.

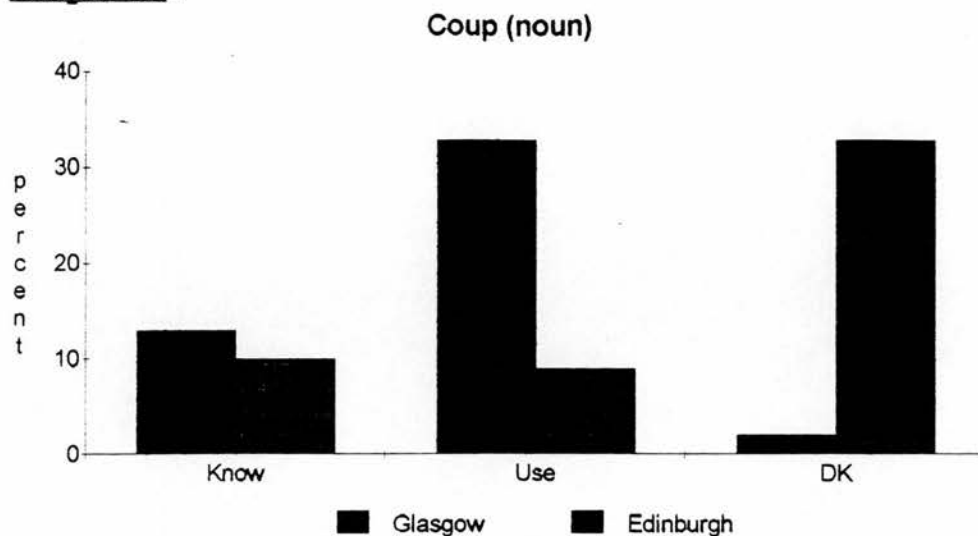


Graph 34 suggests that there are no significant differences between the incidence of *to coup* in Glasgow and Edinburgh. When we correlate the results for each city with age group, however, we can see that there are, in fact significant differences.

Graph 35.

Graph 35 shows that more informants aged over 60 years from both Edinburgh and Glasgow are more likely to use *to coup*, but that this tendency is less clear-cut in Glasgow than it is in Edinburgh. In Edinburgh it appears that this verb is in decline as all of the Edinburgh informants from Age Group 18-30 claimed that they do not know the meaning. As this evidence is not supported by the results for the Glasgow sample, we must conclude that if *to coup* is in decline, this decline is, at this stage, more prevalent in Edinburgh than it is in Glasgow.

The results for the noun *coup* show a significantly different trend from the verb.

Graph 36.

Graph 36 shows that the noun *coup* is known and used to a far greater extent in Glasgow than it is in Edinburgh. As no significant differences as relates to social group, age group and gender exist for the Edinburgh sample, it seem a most likely that the small number of informants who do know of this word know of it as a result of experience of other dialects, rather than as a feature which is indigenous to Edinburgh speech. This contention is supported by the fact that of the Edinburgh informants who either know of or use the noun *coup*, none represent Age Group 18-30 (ie., the youngest age group). This may suggest that this item is in decline in Edinburgh, or it may suggest that as a result of less life experience these informants have also experienced less language, and as such are unaware of the existence of this noun purely because it is not a feature of their local vernacular. In this way, then, we can not categorically state that the noun *coup* is in decline in Edinburgh, because there is

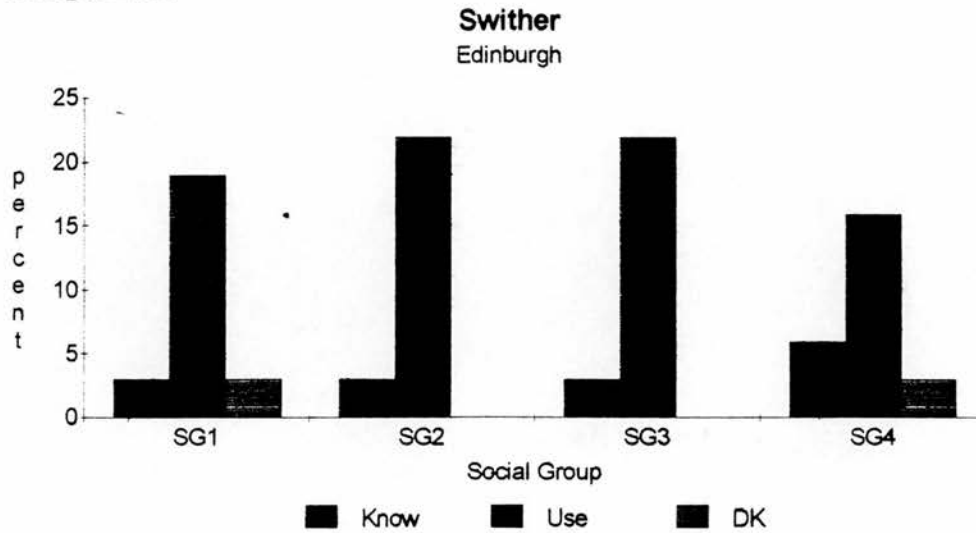
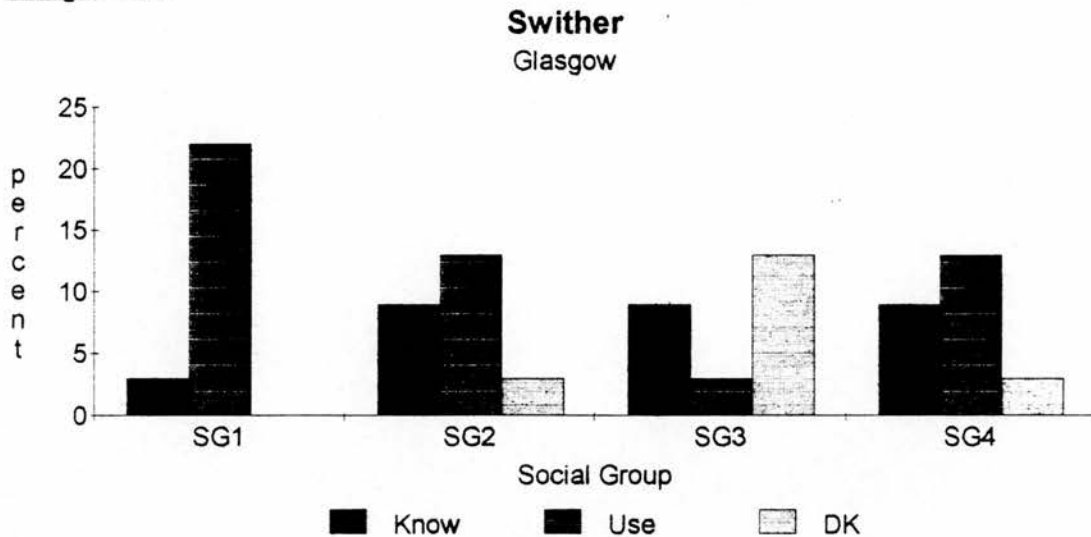
insufficient evidence to suggest that it was ever a feature of speech there.

5.1.5 SWITHER, HAAR

As shown above, most of the lexical items in the questionnaire were expected to show sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class where the lower the social class the more likely an individual was to use a non-standard item. Two items were, however, shown to be subject to variation in the opposite direction from most others. These were *swither* and *haar*, and they appear to be distributed in the opposite direction to most other non-standard lexical items ie. they appear to be more likely to be used by the middle classes than the lower classes. They are discussed in detail below.

SWITHER

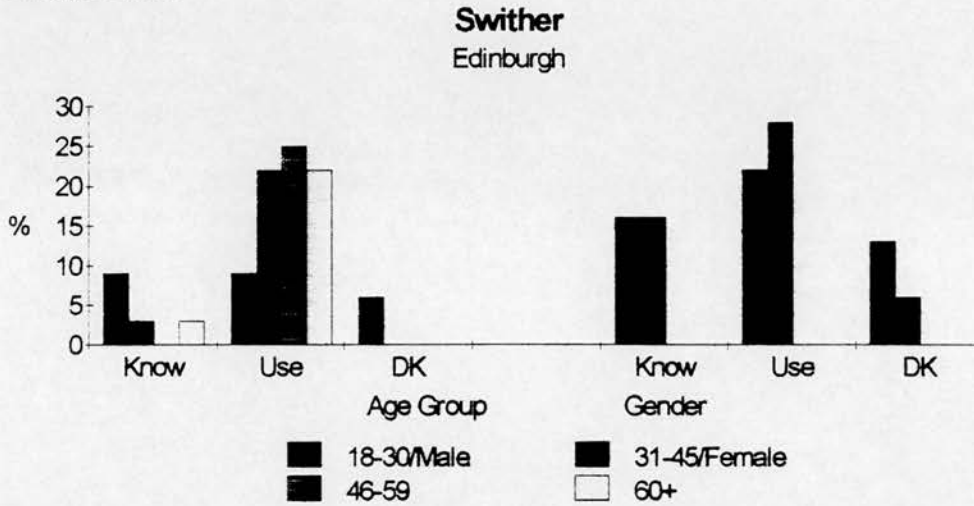
This verb means "to be undecided", and the CSD states that it is a feature of speech throughout Scotland. It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate its sociolinguistic distribution in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Graphs 37 and 38 illustrate the results from Edinburgh and Glasgow when correlated with social group.

Graph 37.Graph 38.

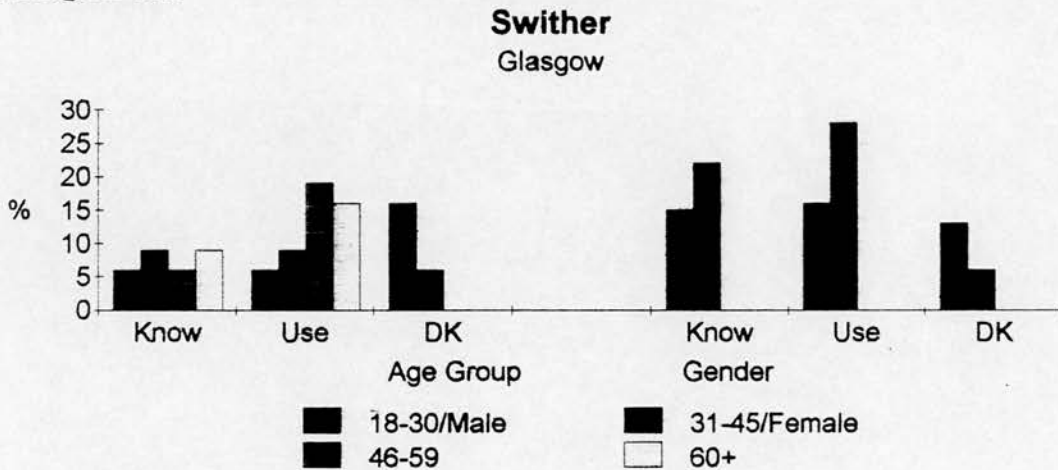
Graphs 37 and 38 show the very unusual distribution of the verb *swither*. It would appear that while less informants in Glasgow are aware of what this word means, the overall trend shown in Graphs 37 and 38 is that more people from Social Group 3 in Edinburgh, and Social Group 4 in Glasgow tend to avoid its use where they do know of it. In this way this word seems to be a rather 'middle class' word, as it seems to be people from the higher social groups who use it most.

Graphs 39 and 40 show the results when correlated with age group and gender.

Graph 39.



Graph 40.



The results shown in Graphs 39 and 40 are similar. They show that in both Glasgow and Edinburgh the older the age group of the informant, the more likely he or she is to use the word *swither*, and the younger the informant, the less likely he or she is to know what the word means. This points towards a decline in the use (and, therefore,

existence) of *swither* in the speech of people from Edinburgh and Glasgow.

The results when correlated with gender are as similar. For both the Glasgow and the Edinburgh samples it appears that women are more likely to use the word *swither* than men. Again, this tendency is the opposite of common sociolinguistic findings, as is the variation of use of this item in general, as it does not follow any predictable pattern of sociolinguistic variation due to the fact that it seems to be a feature of the speech of the higher social groups than the lower ones.

HAAR

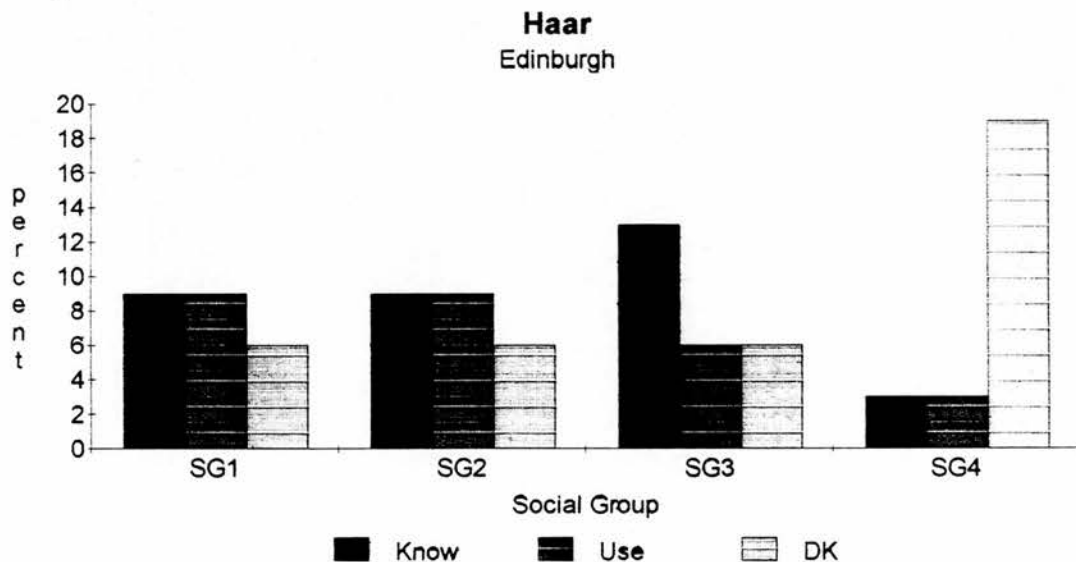
The noun *haar* means "sea mist". The CSD states that this is chiefly a feature of East of Scotland speech, but is also used elsewhere in Scotland in reference to East Coast sea mist specifically. It was included in the questionnaire in order to investigate whether or not it is a feature of the speech of those from Glasgow, and to study the sociolinguistic variation of the word in Edinburgh.

Thirteen of the informants from Glasgow claimed to know of the word *haar*, and eleven of them of them represented Social Groups 1 and 2. All of these informants identified

the word as being peculiar to the type of mist found in the East Coast. In this way, in Glasgow, the use of *haar* is infrequent, as it is unlikely that even those who do know what it means would have much opportunity to refer to it as it does not exist in West Central Scotland. It would also appear, on the strength of this study's results, that when *haar* is used in Glasgow, it is used by those of the higher social classes overtly to consciously convey a specific message about the East Coast.

In Edinburgh, the use of *haar* is also subject to sociolinguistic variation. Graph 41 illustrates this in terms of social group.

Graph 41.



As Graph 41 shows, the lowest social group appear to be the least likely to know of or use this word. As there were no significant differences when these results were

correlated with age group or gender, it would seem to be the case that for all ages and both genders in Edinburgh the use of *haar* is an overt feature of middle class speech. It is overt because it appears to be used to convey a specific, middle class message, and this was actually admitted by a few of the informants. For example, when asked about whether or not he uses this word, Edinburgh informant "NL" (male, age 18-30, social group 1) replied, "Eh..yeah, but for pretentious reasons". As the lowest social group in the Edinburgh sample, in general, did not know the meaning of this word, and usually, in urban areas, the lower social groups are those who tend to use a Scots dialect, we can conclude that it is most likely that *haar* is not so much a feature of Edinburgh dialect as it is a feature of the version of SSE spoken in Edinburgh.

5.1.6 SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR LEXICAL USAGE

When we take the results for the lexis part of the questionnaire and consider them as a whole we can observe several basic sociolinguistic trends.

It would appear that in Glasgow and Edinburgh there exists the 'normal' variation of most non-standard lexical items ie., it appears that for most items the lower the social class of an individual the more likely

he or she is to use it. In addition there is evidence to suggest that for a number of items eg., *keek* in Glasgow and *feart* in Edinburgh, the sociolinguistic tendency for the third highest social group to aspire towards the prestige form prevails. There are, however, exceptions to this trend in the form of words such as *haar* and *swither* which have been shown to be known of or used more by those of higher socio-economic status.

The results for this section of the questionnaire also show that there are differences in the sociolinguistic variation of lexical items between Glasgow and Edinburgh. They also show that lexical distribution can vary in Edinburgh and Glasgow in that in several instances informants from Glasgow used a different item from those from Edinburgh to mean the same thing eg., in Glasgow the word most commonly used for "splinter" is *skelf* while in Edinburgh it is *spail*. Differences of these types do, however, appear to be in decline as the people of Edinburgh accommodate their choice of lexis towards that of Glaswegians. It is a well established fact that Glasgow tends to be a focal area where the Scots dialects are concerned ie., the fame and notoriety of the Glasgow dialect (along with the attitudinal stereotypes associated with that) can influence the dialects spoken in other areas of Lowland Scotland. This has been shown to be the case for the dialect spoken in Edinburgh as the

results for the present study show that indigenous Edinburgh items such as *spail* are being replaced by either ESE *splinter* or general Scots *skelf* while words associated mainly with Glasgow such as *buroo* are becoming both known and used by speakers in Edinburgh. This does not appear to be occurring in reverse, however, as items which are common features of Edinburgh speech such as *chum* do not appear to be either known of or used at all in Glasgow.

The results when correlated with age group show that a number of Scots lexical items appear to be in decline. These trends are shown by the fact that the younger the age group of the individual the less likely he or she is to either know of or use a non-standard or Scots lexical item. Again, there are discrepancies between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and these consist of two types. The first is the decline in use of words in Edinburgh as they are being replaced by more general Scots items or ESE ones. The second is where an item which is used in both Glasgow and Edinburgh appears to be in decline in one city but not the other eg., both the noun and the verb forms of *coup* seem to be declining in Edinburgh while they do not in Glasgow. On the whole, however, the results show that a total of nine Scots items appear to be in decline in either Glasgow or Edinburgh or both. This, on first sight appears to be indicative of a general decline in Scots

lexical usage, and through this, a decline in Scots in Glasgow and Edinburgh generally. This suspicion is, however, borne out when we consider the fact that this decline in lexical usage can be because one Scots form is being replaced by another eg., *spail* is being replaced in Edinburgh more by Scots *skelf* than by ESE *splinter*. It is also the case that all languages as part of their development are subject to the loss and introduction of linguistic features (including lexis). In fact, it is a sign of a healthy language that loss occurs, so long as innovation also occurs. As lexical innovation was not investigated in the present study it would be impossible to comment either way on what the decline in the use of specific lexical items really means for Scots. We can, however, surmise that based on the results for the item *greet*, an indigenous Scots word which is actually increasing in usage, that the use of Scots lexis is not so much in decline as it is undergoing change. This change might be to do with the assimilation of the dialects, particularly in the Central Belt, as the dialects accommodate their lexical usage to that of Glasgow in particular, or it might be to do with innovation. This study does not have the scope to make any categorical statement on the reasons for or nature of the linguistic changes which are occurring in lexical usage. It can only conclude that change is occurring and that this change does not appear to be indicative of a

decline in Scots because "it is the way of languages to constantly change and adapt and only when they cease to change and adapt they die" (SLP2:9). In this way, then, there appears to be no evidence to suggest that Scots is dying. This contention is supported by the results detailed in the section on Scots pronunciations (see §5.2 below). These results show that there appears to be no evidence to suggest that the specifically Scots pronunciations of words which are common to both English and Scots are in decline.

The results for the lexis part of the questionnaire also show several interesting trends when correlated with gender. A relatively few number of items showed any significant differences in the amount of usage between the two genders. This in itself is worth note as gender differentiation is a well-documented sociolinguistic phenomenon, usually indicating that females tend to use fewer non-standard forms than males (eg., Trudgill 1974(a), see §1.2 above).

While others (eg., Milroy 1980, see §1.2 and §1.4.2 above) have challenged this notion, this challenge has always consisted of an explanation for **why** sociolinguistic studies commonly find that males use more non-standard forms than females. The results for the present study, however, show that for the majority of the

lexical items included in the questionnaire no gender differentiation was apparent, and for the four items that did show a definite trend, the results are far from straightforward. Figure 15 shows the results based on gender for the four lexical items that appear to be subject to this type of variation.

Figure 15

	<u>Glasgow</u>		<u>Edinburgh</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
FEART	-	+	+	-
CHECK	+	-	-	+
SWITHER	-	+	-	+
CLYPE	-	+	-	+

NB. + : used by more informants
 - : used by fewer informants.

Figure 15 shows that, for example, *feart* is used by more females than males in Glasgow, but more males than females in Edinburgh. While one could argue that these results could be explained by chance, the fact remains that with no lexical item included in the questionnaire was subject to gender-based variation in the way commonly regarded as the sociolinguistic 'norm'. Again, these results are supported by those for the section on Scots pronunciations below (§5.2).

5.1.7 AWARENESS OF SCOTS LEXIS

Question 40. Do you think of these words as being Scottish words?

Question 41. Do you think that you would use any (other) words that an English person might not?

Question 42. Can you think of any examples?

Question 40 was designed to establish whether or not the informant was aware that all of the items in the word list were peculiarly Scottish. If the informant claimed that only some of the items were Scottish words then he or she was asked which ones were not. The aim here was to obtain some information of which words are overt Scotticisms and which words are covert Scotticisms to the people of Glasgow and Edinburgh. This was thought to be the simplest way of extracting information about this very complex subject, even though it allowed for only a very limited amount of information. Linguists such as Aitken (1984(a)) and Sandred (1983) have documented the fact that Scots speakers tend to use some lexical items overtly (ie., they choose to use it to convey a specific message), and others covertly (ie., they use it without being aware, at the time, of its Scots specificity). These accounts treat the overt and covert use of language as if it were an arbitrary characteristic of a lexical item ie., an item is either overt or covert. The whole concept of overt and covert Scots usage is, however, very

much dependent on how much attention a person pays to his use of vocabulary. For example, one person might use the term *swither* overtly, in that he is aware of the fact that he is choosing to use it over an English alternative. Another person, however, might use this word without realising that it is not, in fact, an English vocabulary item and that there is an English alternative, and that through using *swither* he is displaying his Scottish-ness. This would be covert use of the item, and illustrates that what can be an overt Scotticism for one person might be a covert Scotticism for another. The responses to this question can, therefore, give us some indication as to which of the lexical items mentioned in detail above are, in general, used overtly or covertly by the informants from Edinburgh and Glasgow. The items *sore head* and *slag* are British English terms (though *sore head* is used in a peculiarly Scottish way). Bearing this in mind, these two items are not included in the results which show the lexical items informants feel are not specifically Scottish.

Seven of the Edinburgh informants and eight of the Glasgow informants claimed that only some of the items in the list are peculiarly Scottish. Three informants named *haar* as an English word, and the items *close*, *swither*, *siver* and *chum* were also given as examples of non-Scottish words. This suggests that for some people, at

least, these items are used covertly ie., they use them in the belief that they are not Scottish alternatives to Standard English forms, even when they are aware of the existence of such an alternative. For example, an informant might use the word *siver*, believing it to be an equally Standard English equivalent to the word *drain*, and in this way is not consciously choosing to convey any specific Scottish message about the subject of the conversation or about him/herself. It also appears to be the case that when there is no one word of Standard English which means the same thing as a Scots lexical item, the idea that the non-standard item is actually a Standard English option is reinforced. For example, the fact that there is no single word translation of *haar* or *siver* can lead speakers to believe that they are Standard English items which mean "East Coast sea mist" and "outdoor/street/pavement drain" respectively.

Questions 41 and 42 follow on from Question 40 in that they ask the informant to suggest some other Scottish words. The fact that a person is aware of an item as being Scottish, however, does not necessarily mean that his use of it is always overt eg., he might use it without intending to identify himself or the subject he is talking about as peculiarly Scottish, while at the same time be aware that this word is. What we can conclude from answers to this question is that the use of

any Scottish words suggested at this point in the interview by an informant **might** be overt because in answering the question he or she is giving an emphatic example of a Scottish word. We can not, however, state this categorically. Similarly, we can assume that any peculiarly Scottish words which an informant uses frequently throughout the interview, but which that informant does not mention in answer to this question are likely to be (but, again, are not categorically) covert usages.

All of the informants, without exception, claimed that they do use what they know to be Scottish words as part of their every-day speech. When asked to specify any, the results for both Edinburgh and Glasgow had many similarities. For example, informants from both cities gave *aye* ("yes"), *ben* ("through"), and *blether* ("chat") as examples of Scottish words. While the word *aye* is given here as an example of a Scottish word, we must remember that it would be inappropriate to claim that its inclusion suggests that its use is always overt. It is probably more likely that people are aware of the non-standard nature of this word purely because it is one which has been shown to be commonly corrected by the schools in Scotland (see §4.4.1 above). Bearing this in mind, then, it would be as inappropriate to suggest that any of the examples given at this point in the interview

actually represent truly overt usages by those who suggested them. This point is reinforced by the sheer number of Scots lexical items given as examples by the informants. A total number of thirty-seven Scots lexical items were given as examples of Scottish words, and this number does not include what can be considered as Scots pronunciations of words which are part of the vocabulary of English as well as Scots eg., *hame* ("home"), *shooder* ("shoulder") and *hunner* ("hundred"). It would be implausible to suggest that all of these words are used overtly by the people of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but it is probably appropriate to state that due to their being known by speakers to be peculiarly Scottish, the chances of them being used overtly by **some** people are increased.

Words which are likely to be used covertly include *yin* ("one" [thing]) *aye* ("yes"), and *wee* ("small"), as these words were used by many or all (in the case of *aye*) of the informants during the course of the interviews, but were rarely (if at all in the case of *yin*) commented on. This lack of recognition of a word which was frequently used by the informants suggests that that use is, indeed, covert. The three examples given above are all very common words, and as such it seems most likely that their use is covert for the majority of speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

5.2 SCOTS PRONUNCIATION

Question 43. How do you pronounce these words?
--

This question asks the informant to say how he or she usually pronounces a word. Often informants stated that they could use both a SSE, or a Scots pronunciation for the same word depending on the formality of the circumstances they found themselves in (see §1.3 and §4.2 above), and where this was the case only the Scots pronunciation was recorded in the results. This was due to the fact that all speakers tend to aspire to the Standard form of their language in formal situations (see §2.3 above). Therefore, if a Scots pronunciation was used at all as part of the informant's speech it was recorded as such. This, admittedly, does not rule out the danger of recording an informant as using a Scots form when he (or she) is, in fact, displaying loyalty to an ideology he identifies with the use of Scots dialect by modifying his speech towards the Non-standard (see again §1.3). The danger of this happening during a one to one interview was, however, thought to be minimal, and, indeed, the general impression was that no informant did give an answer which suggested that his or her speech contained more non-standard pronunciations than it actually does.

A total of fourteen words which have both SSE and Scots forms was listed, each representing a linguistic variable commonly known for being Scots or SSE. The examples used were selected on the basis that they are all commonly-used words.

For each item on the list, the spelling used for the Scots form was such that it best represented the pronunciation it was intended to convey. For example, the Scots form of *all* is spelt <aw> in order that the informant can easily and quickly recognize the pronunciation it is intended to represent. As a result, several of the items do not conform to any suggested or agreed convention as regards the spelling of Scots eg., McClure (1979) contends that the most appropriate spelling of the Scots pronunciation of *water*, [w~~at~~ər], should be <watir> rather than <watter>, but if <watir> had been used in this questionnaire it could have confused informants because they are most used to seeing the Scots pronunciation spelt <watter> in newspaper-cartoons etc..

In addition, the results for this part of the questionnaire are based on the broadest interpretation of what constitutes a Scots form and what constitutes an SSE form. The reason for this is that due to the nature of the question, which asks the informant whether he or she

uses one form or another in a very direct fashion, only very emphatic responses are likely. What questioning about pronunciation in this way does allow for, however, is the opportunity to check the emphatic answers to these questions against any instances of words containing the same linguistic variable occurring in the speech of the informant, regardless of formality, throughout the course of the interview. In this way the researcher is able to determine to what extent an informant's subjective evaluation of how his or her pronunciation matches their actual use, and compare these results against the informant's sociolinguistic classification (see §3.1). This test is, however, only possible if the informant actually uses words containing similar linguistic variables throughout the interview, and if he does not consistently maintain his most Standard speech style. This test would, therefore, seem to be unsuitable for a study which is based entirely on tape-recorded interviews, but for a large number of informants it was, in fact, possible, and this can probably be credited to the fact that the interviews in this study did not consistently prompt only formal speech from many of the informants (see §4.2 above).

The words selected for inclusion in this part of the questionnaire are discussed individually.

5.2.1 HAME/HOME, HOOSE/HOUSE, BOAX/BOX, AW/ALL

In general, the results obtained from this part of the questionnaire showed that in both Glasgow and Edinburgh Scots pronunciations are subject to sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class. Most items did not, however, show any significant trends in terms of either age group or gender. This section, therefore, deals with such items.

HAME / HOME

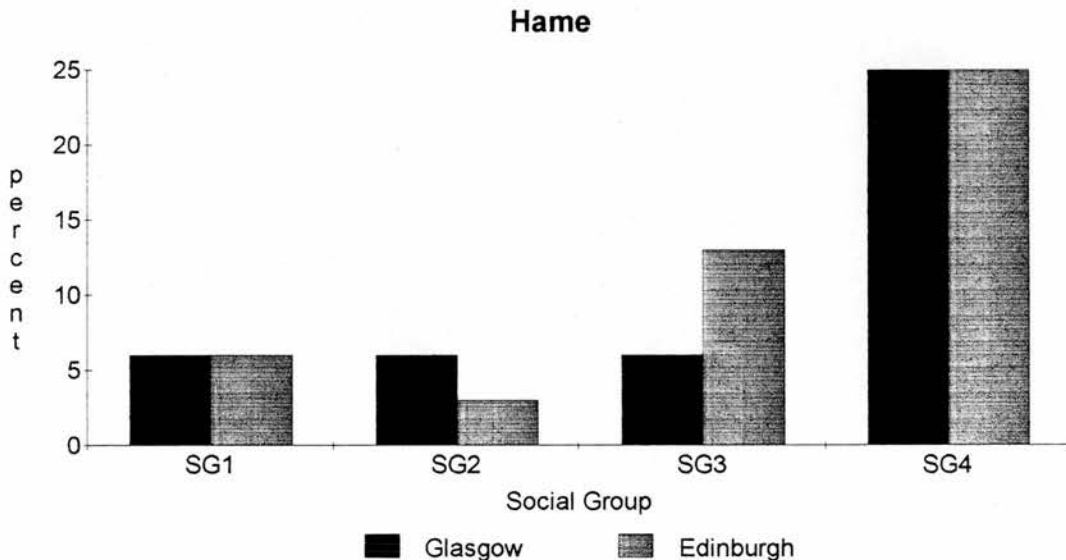
This item was included to investigate the extent of the variation between the SSE vowel [o:], and its Scots alternative [e:] in words such as *home*, *sore* and *both*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations of these words is that Old English (OE) [ɑ:] rounded and raised to [ɔ:] in Southern English, while it fronted to [a:] in Scots and Northern English dialects. The Great Vowel Shift (GVS) (14th - 17th century) raised these vowels, making the distinction between the sounds even greater. In Scots and Northern English [a:] was raised at the front of the mouth to [e:] (as in *hame*), while in Southern English [ɔ:] was raised at the back (as in *home*). The development of this sound in Scots is illustrated in Fig.16 (see also §2.1.1).

Fig. 16**Scots and Northern English:**

OE	ESc	ModSc		
[a:]	[a:]	[e:]	eg., <i>hame</i>	[hem]

Fourteen of the Edinburgh informants claimed to use the *hame* pronunciation of this item. One of the informants who claimed to say *home* was, however, mistaken as he was recorded using the *hame* pronunciation during the course of the interview. Fourteen of the Glasgow informants also claimed to use the *hame* pronunciation. When the results are correlated with social group (Graph 42) they can be shown to be very similar in both cities.

Graph 42.

As Graph 42 shows, all informants in Social Group 4 use the *hame* pronunciation. As informants from other social groups tended to claim that they avoid this pronunciation

(and were not recorded as using it throughout the interviews), we can safely assume that this particular Scots pronunciation is used in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and is subject to variation in terms of social class. There were no significant differences in the results when correlated with age group or gender.

HOOSE / HOUSE

This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE diphthong [ʌu], and its Scots alternative [u:] in words such as *house*, *out* and *down*.

The reason for the difference between the Scots and SSE pronunciations of these words is that the GVS diphthongised [u:] to [au] in RP, but did not in Scots and Northern English dialects. This was because the OE [o:] had been fronted to [ø:] in Scots and Northern English by the twelfth century (this is known as Northern Fronting). Therefore, in Northern Britain, by the time the GVS was happening "[ø:] was able to raise to [o:], but there was no [o:] to raise to [u:]; hence there was no diphthongisation" (Lass 1987:227). This was not the case in Southern English because [o:] had not been fronted. [o:] was thus raised to [u:] during the GVS, and [u:] in turn diphthongised. By the eighteenth century, when middle-class Scottish people were trying to

assimilate their speech to that of Southern England, they produced SSE [ʌu] (see §2.2.2 above). The development of the Scots sound is illustrated in Fig. 17.

Fig.17

Scots and Northern English:

ESc	ModSc	
[u:]	[u:]	eg., <i>hoose</i> [hus]

Fifteen of the Edinburgh informants claimed that they use the [u:] pronunciation in words such as *house*. When all those who claimed to use the [ʌu] pronunciation, but were recorded during the interview as actually using [u:] in the relevant environment are added to those who admitted to the use of [u:], the total number of Edinburgh informants who use [u:] is nineteen. Obviously this infers that the number of Edinburgh informants who were mistaken about their actual pronunciation is four. The results for the Glasgow sample show that, for them, this number is significantly greater. The total number of Glasgow informants who were recorded in the results as using the [u:] pronunciation is twenty-one, and nine of these were those who had mistakenly claimed to always use the [ʌu] pronunciation. Interestingly, five of these nine are members of Social Group 3, and this suggests that in Glasgow, for this item at least, it is the third highest

social group who are most likely to perceive their speech as more Standard than it actually is.

Again, when broken down in terms of social group (Graph 43), the figures for Glasgow and Edinburgh are very similar.

Graph 43.



Graph 43 shows that the Scots [u:] pronunciation in words such as *house* and *out* is used by speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and is subject to sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class in both cities.

When correlated with age group or gender the figures for this item show no significant differences.

BOAX / BOX

This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel [ɔ] (RP [ɑ]), and its Scots equivalent [o] in words such as *box*, *Scotland* and *on* (depending on dialect).

The reason for the difference between the Scots and SSE pronunciations is that in some Scots dialects the [ɔ] vowel was raised to [o] prior to the GVS. The development of Scots dialect [o] is shown in Fig. 18.

Fig. 18

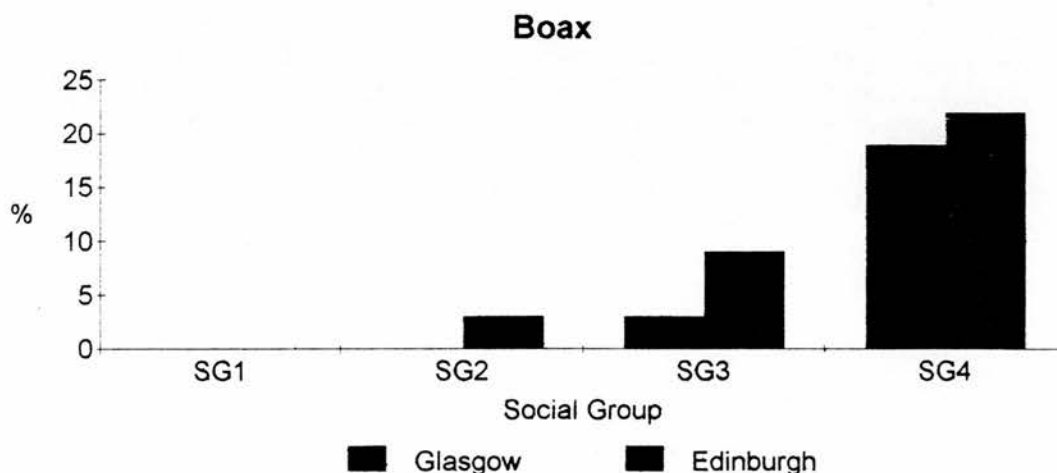
Scots Dialects:

OE		ModSc dialects	
[ɔ]	→	[o]	eg., <i>boax</i> [boks]

Ten Edinburgh informants were recorded as using the Scots [o] pronunciation, three of whom were informants who had mistakenly claimed that they do not, but were recorded during the interview as pronouncing words such as *box* and *Scotland* in this way. Seven Glasgow informants (one of whom mistakenly claimed that he does not use the Scots vowel sound) were recorded as using Scots [o] where SSE

has [ɔ]. Graph 44 illustrates the results once they are correlated with social group.

Graph 44.



Graph 44 shows that the Scots [ɔ] pronunciation is used in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and is subject to variation in terms of social class in both cities. No significant differences in terms of age group or gender were recorded.

AW / ALL

This item was included to investigate the variation between SSE non-vocalised [l], and Scots vocalised [l] in words such as *all*, *fall* and *call*.

[l]-vocalisation occurred around c1350 in Scots and affected the realisation of [l] when it occurred between the vowels [ɔ], [a] or [u], and a morpheme boundary or a

consonant. The development of Scots *aw* is illustrated in Fig.19 (see also §2.1.1 above).

Fig. 19

Scots:

PLSc ESc ModSc
[all] → [au] → [ɔ:] eg., *aw* [ɔ:]

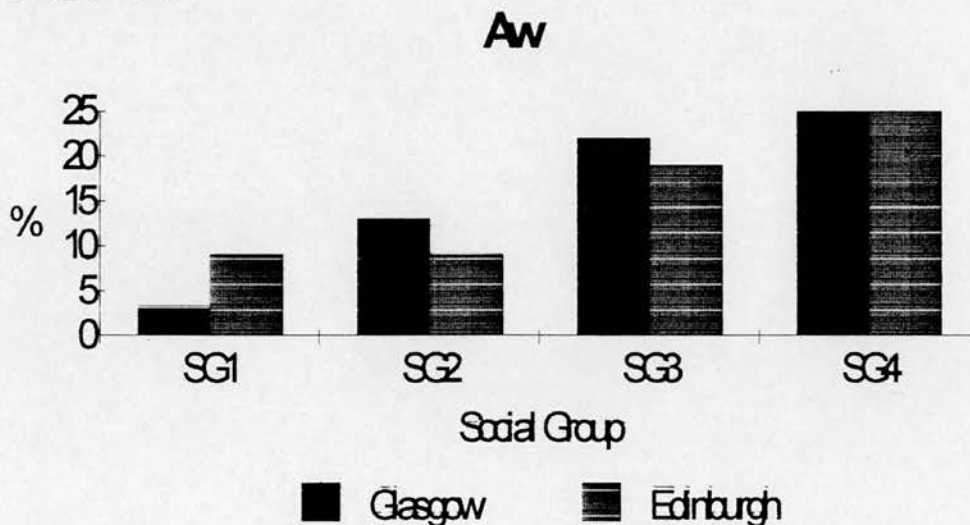
The Scots /ɔ:/ is long here because it is subject to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule which became effective after the GVS. This rule is that in Scots and SSE a vowel is long if it occurs before a morpheme boundary, a voiced fricative or [r]. Because /ɔ:/ is at a morpheme boundary in Scots *aw*, it is long (ie., [ɔ:]). In SSE [ɔl] (*all*) the vowel is short because it does not occur in any of the contexts noted above.

The word *all* was used by nearly all the informants throughout the interviews, and as such is the best indicator of which informants are most likely to describe their pronunciation in a way which is different from their actual speech. A total number of eighteen informants, nine from Glasgow and nine from Edinburgh, claimed that they pronounce this word [ɔl], but were recorded during the interviews as uttering the Scots [ɔ:] instead. This high number of informants who had been mistaken shows that perception and reality can be

extremely different when it comes to speech. It can only be assumed that the emphatic answer is really how a person would **like** to pronounce a word, but cannot maintain in his or her actual language use. Perception of language use will be discussed in more detail in §5.2.2.

The results for this item (once the number of informants who admitted to the Scots pronunciation was added to the number of informants who mistakenly claimed to use the SSE pronunciation) are illustrated in Graph 45.

Graph 45.



Graph 45 shows that [l]-vocalisation occurs in both Edinburgh and Glasgow and is subject to variation in terms of social class in both cities. There were no significant differences found when the results were correlated with age group or gender.

**5.2.2 EFTER/AFTER. FIT/FOOT, GIE/GIVE, DINNA/DON'T,
HEID/HEAD**

As stated in §5.2.1 above, most of the items included in this part of the questionnaire are subject to sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class only. While this is the case also for those items included in this section, the results for the items in this section also show that there is differentiation in the distribution of Scots pronunciations between Glasgow and Edinburgh.

EFTER / AFTER

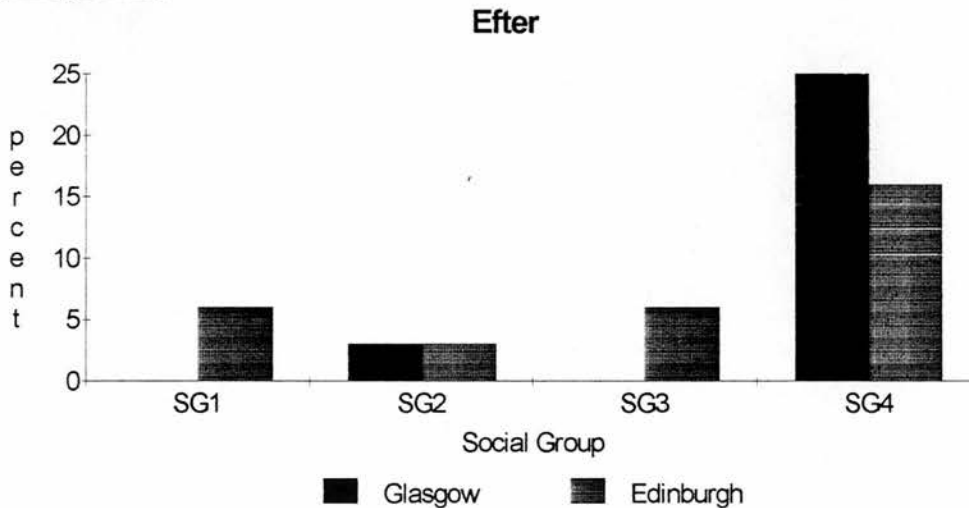
This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel [a:], and its Scots alternative [ɛ:] (or [e:] if the vowel is followed by [r]) in words such as *after*, *marry* and *carry*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations is that in Southern English the OE vowel [æ] was short, particularly where it preceded a consonant cluster or [r], and so was not affected by the GVS. In Scots, the vowel in words such as those noted above was fronted and lengthened to [a:] and so underwent the GVS to become either [e:] or [ɛ:], depending on the specific dialect. This is illustrated in Fig.20.

Fig.20**Scots dialects:**

OE	ESc	ModSc	
[æ]	[a:]	[ɛ:]	eg., <i>after</i> [ɛftər]

Nine informants from Edinburgh, and nine informants from Glasgow claimed that they use the Scots [ɛ:] or [e:] pronunciation in words such as *after* and *marry*. No informant from either city was recorded as using the Scots pronunciation when they claimed that they do not. As Graph 46 shows, the distribution of the use of the Scots pronunciation is somewhat different in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Graph 46.

While Graph 46 shows that it is the case in both Edinburgh and Glasgow that members of Social Group 4 are most likely to use the Scots pronunciation in words such as *after*, the number of Social Group 4 Informants who

reported this is significantly fewer in Edinburgh than in Glasgow. On the basis of this we must note that while the Scots pronunciation [ɛ:] or [e:] is a feature of the speech of people in Glasgow and Edinburgh and it is subject to variation in terms of social class, it is either used **or perceived** less in Edinburgh than in Glasgow. No significant differences in terms of age group or gender were recorded.

FIT / FOOT

This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel [u], and its Scots alternative [ɪ] in words such as *foot* and *boot*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations is that prior to the GVS the vowel in words such as *foot* was [o] in Southern English and [ɒ] in Scots (due to Northern Fronting, ie., the fronting of [o] to [ɒ] in Scots and Northern English dialects prior to the GVS, see §5.2.1 above, item HOOSE/HOUSE). The GVS raised the Southern English vowel to [u], and the Scots vowel [ɒ] merged with [y] in some dialects (see §2.1.1 above). By the mid-sixteenth century, however, the Scots [ɒ] (or [y]) had become affected by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule which applies length to a vowel where it is followed by a voiced fricative, [r], or a morpheme boundary (see §5.2.1, item AW/ALL). As words such as *foot*

and *boot* do not come into any of these categories they have the short realisation (ie., the allophone) [ɪ] in some Scots dialects, see Fig.21.

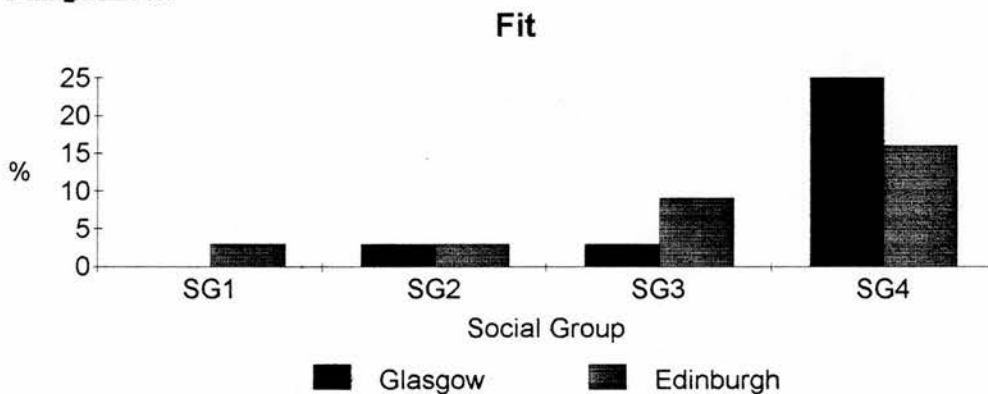
Fig.21

Scots dialects:

OE	ESc	MSc	ModSc dialects	
[o:]	[ø:]	[y]	[ɪ]	eg. <i>fit</i> [fit]

Ten of the Glasgow informants were recorded as using the Scots [ɪ] pronunciation. Two of these informants had mistakenly claimed that they do not use the Scots pronunciation, but were found to actually do so during the interviews. Nine of the Edinburgh informants were recorded as using the Scots [ɪ] pronunciation in the relevant environment, one of whom mistakenly claimed that she does not. The results when correlated with social group are illustrated in Graph 47.

Graph 47.



Graph 47 shows that while it is the case in both Glasgow and Edinburgh that members of Social Group 4 are most

likely to use the Scots pronunciation in words such as *foot*, the number of Social Group 4 Informants in Edinburgh who reported this is fewer than in Glasgow. Due to this, we must conclude that while the Scots pronunciation [ɪ] is a feature of the speech of people in Edinburgh and Glasgow and is subject to variation in terms of social class, it is either used less **or perceived less** in Edinburgh than in Glasgow. There were no significant differences in the variation of this sound in terms of age group or gender recorded.

HEID / HEAD

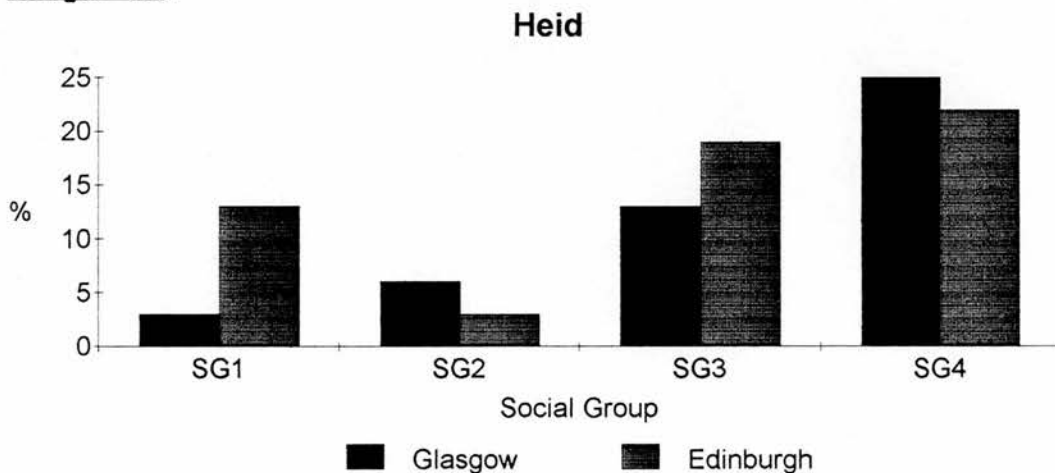
This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel [ɛ], and its Scots equivalent [i] (except in East Mid (B) (ie., East-central Scots, see §2.1.1) dialect areas where [e] is the reflex of ESc [ɛ]) in words such as *head*, *dead* and *deaf*.

The reason for the difference between the Scots and SSE pronunciations is that in the ME period before the GVS the vowel in words such as *head* was treated as short in ESE, and long in Scots. The long Scots vowel, thus, underwent the changes associated with the GVS, while the vowel in the same words in ESE did not. The development of Scots [i] as in *heid* is illustrated in Fig. 22.

Fig.22**Scots:**

OE	ME	MSc	ModSc	
/æ:a/	/ɛ:/	/e/	/i/	eg., <i>heid</i> /hid/

A total of three informants (two from Edinburgh and one from Glasgow) were found to be mistaken about their actual use of the Scots [i] pronunciation in words where SSE has [ɛ], as they were recorded during the interviews as using the Scots pronunciation. The complete figures (ie. once these three informants had been included) show that, again, the variation of use of the Scots pronunciation in words such as *head* and *bread* is less regular in Edinburgh than it is in Glasgow.

Graph 48.

Graph 48 shows that while it is the case in both Glasgow and Edinburgh that it is those from Social Group 4 who are most likely to use the Scots [i] pronunciation in words such as *head*, it appears that there are

significantly more Edinburgh informants from Social Group 1 who use the Scots pronunciation than Social Group 1 informants from Glasgow. Again, the most likely explanation for this is that sociolinguistic variation is less well-defined in Edinburgh, or at least, is **perceived** less.

GIE/GIVE

This item was included to investigate the variation between words which have word-medial or final [v] in SSE, while they do not in Scots. This occurs in words such as *give*, *have* and *over*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations is that around c1300, where a [v] was positioned between two vowels it was lost in Scots. This did not happen to the same extent in Sothern English. In the case of *give*, the [v] was lost because until c1300 the [v] was not in word-final position as it is in Present-day English, but in word-medial position between two vowels ie., ME *given*. Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (MEOSL) resulted in the lengthening of the stressed vowel. The unstressed suffix was eventually lost. After [v]-deletion had occurred in Scots, the [i:] in *gie* was subject to the Scottish Vowel Length Rule because it is in word-final position (see §5.2.1, item

AW/ALL above). The development of *gie* in Scots is illustrated in Fig. 23 (see also §2.1.1 above).

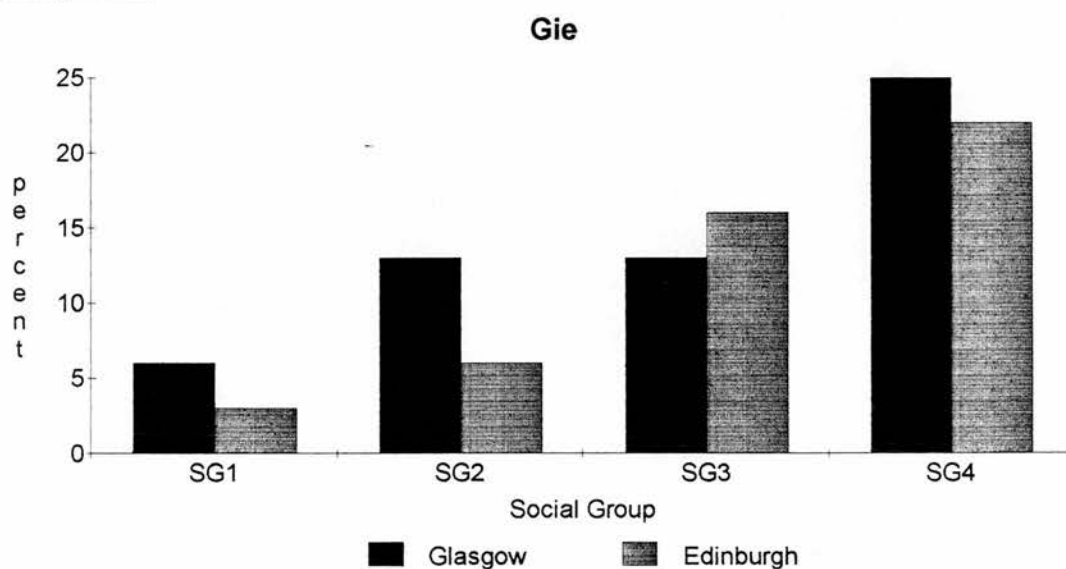
Fig. 23

Scots:

ME PLSc ESc ModSc
 /givə(n)/ → /ge:və/ → /ge:ə/ → /ge/->SVLR->[gi:] *gie*

Three informants were found to use the Scots [v]-deleted form in words such as *give* even when they had claimed not to. Once these informants had been added to those who had claimed that they do use the Scots pronunciation, we can see that pronunciations such as *gie* and *oer* ('over') appear to be subject to variation in terms of social class, as Graph 50 illustrates.

Graph 50.



As Graph 50 shows, informants in both Glasgow and Edinburgh from Social Group 4 are most likely to use the Scots [v]-deleted pronunciation in the appropriate environment. Graph 50 also shows, however, that Glasgow informants in Social Groups 1 and 2 are slightly more likely to use the [v]-deleted form than those of the same social group in Edinburgh. This could be explained by chance, but could also suggest that the sociolinguistic variation of [v]-deleted forms is less well-defined on the basis of social class in Glasgow than it is in Edinburgh. No significant differences in terms of age group or gender were recorded.

SUMMARY

It would appear that the reason for the differences recorded in this section for the items *heid/head*, *fit/foot* etc. between pronunciations in Glasgow and Edinburgh are to do with perceptions of dialect speech. It seems that the main discrepancy in the results is actually concerned with variation in the reliability of reporting (see below at §5.2.6 for a discussion of this). It seems most plausible that the reason for this is manifested by the differences in perception of dialect use in the two cities. It is clear that where sociolinguistic variation does occur in both cities, it occurs to a less well-defined extent in Edinburgh than in

Glasgow, and this appears to be caused by the fact that people in Glasgow are far more aware of what are considered to be stigmatised forms (whether or not they use them) than people in Edinburgh, generally, are. This, ultimately, seems to be caused by the fact that Glasgow dialect is subject to so much notoriety both in Glasgow itself, and elsewhere, and is widely commented on for both formal linguistic reasons, and for humorous, parochial reasons, while the dialect of Edinburgh is not.

5.2.3 STAWN/STAND, WATTER/WATER, HAUNIL/HANDLE

Several of the items included in this part of the questionnaire were shown to be subject to the 'usual' sociolinguistic variation as concerns Scots pronunciation in Glasgow, but not used at all in Edinburgh. It is difficult to say whether this is a result of the fact that certain pronunciations have never been a feature of Edinburgh speech, or that they have been subject to time-orientated linguistic change towards the Standard form. As none of the items discussed below showed any variation in terms of age group it is impossible to state here the reason for this Glasgow/Edinburgh discrepancy.

WATTER/WATER

This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel [ɔ], and its Scots equivalent [a] in words such as *water*, *want* and *wash*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations is that during the Middle English period [a] rounded to [ɔ] when it occurred after a labial in Southern English (and later this was the form used in SSE, see §2.2.2 above). It did not do this in some dialects of Scots and Northern English where it remained [a]. This is illustrated in Fig. 24.

Fig.24**Scots dialects:**

OE	ME	ModSc	
[æ]	[a]	[a]	eg., <i>watter</i> [watər] (or [waʔər])

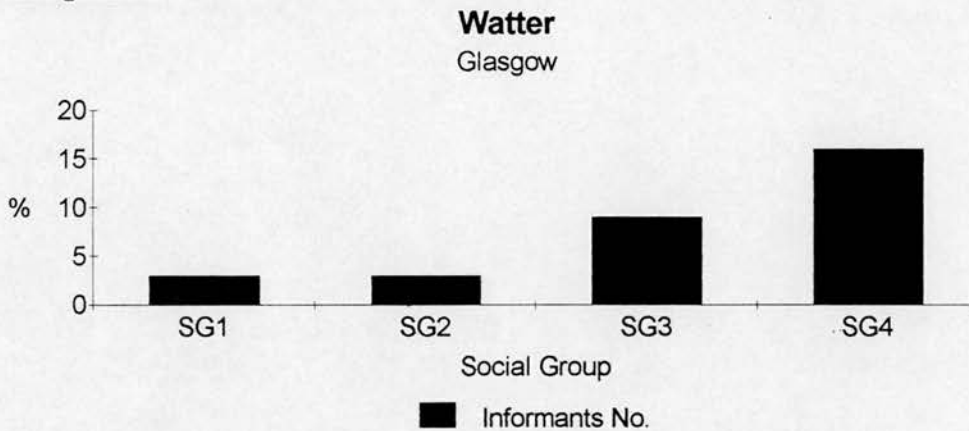
Standard English:

OE	ME	SSE	
[æ]	[a]	[ɔ]	eg., <i>water</i> [wɔtər]

Not one of the Edinburgh informants claimed to use the Scots [a] pronunciation in words such as *water* and *want*, and none were found to be mistaken about this during the course of the interview. As a result we must state that the Scots [a] sound in these environments does not appear

to be used in Edinburgh. The results for the Glasgow sample show variation in the use of the Scots pronunciation in terms of social class only, as no significant differences in terms of age group or gender were apparent. Graph 52 illustrates the Glasgow results in terms of social group.

Graph 52.



STAWN / STAND

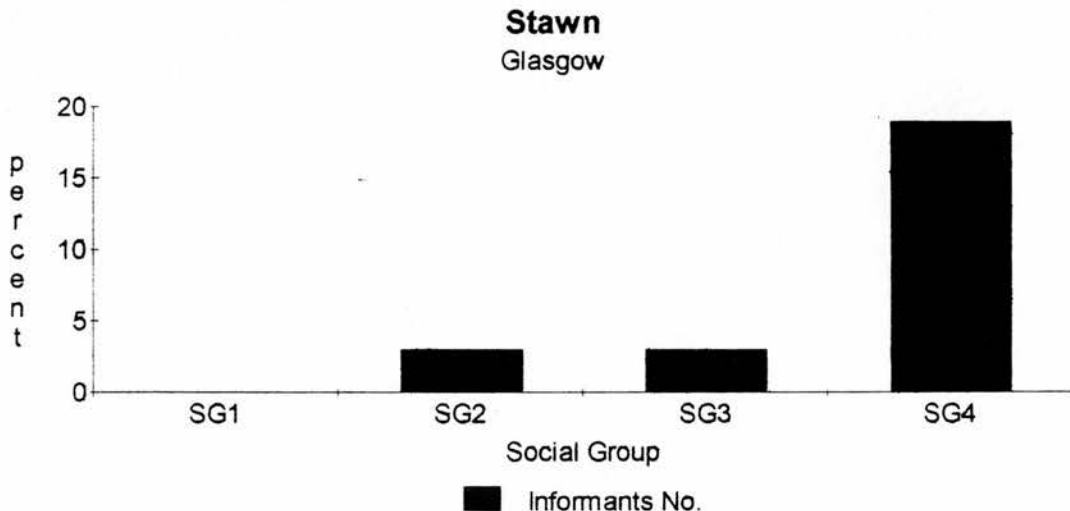
This item was included to investigate the variation between the SSE vowel /a/ and its Scots alternative /ɔ/ (depending on the specific dialect) in words such as *stand*, *far* and *bar*.

The reason for the difference between the SSE and Scots pronunciations of these words is that before /n/ and /r/ the ME vowel /a/ rounded and raised to /ɔ/ in some Scots dialects, while it did not in Southern English. Fig. 25 shows the development of /ɔ/ in some Scots dialects.

Fig.25**Scots dialects:**

OE	ModSc	
[a]	[ɔ]	eg., <i>stawn</i> [stɔn]

Not one of the Edinburgh informants claimed to use the Scots pronunciation, and none of them were found to use it during the course of the interviews. Eight of the Glasgow informants claimed to use the Scots [ɔ] pronunciation in words such as *stand*, and no-one from the Glasgow sample was seen to be mistaken in their belief that they use SSE [a] during the interviews. Even though there were rather fewer informants who stated that they use the Scots pronunciation than seems plausible, there are enough of them to show graphically the variation of the use of this pronunciation in terms of social group.

Graph 53.

The results for this study suggest that the [ɔ] pronunciation in words such as *stand* and *hand* is not a

feature of the speech of people in Edinburgh, but is a pronunciation used in Glasgow where, as Graph 53 shows, it is subject to variation in terms of social class. No differences in terms of age group or gender were recorded.

HAUNIL / HANDLE

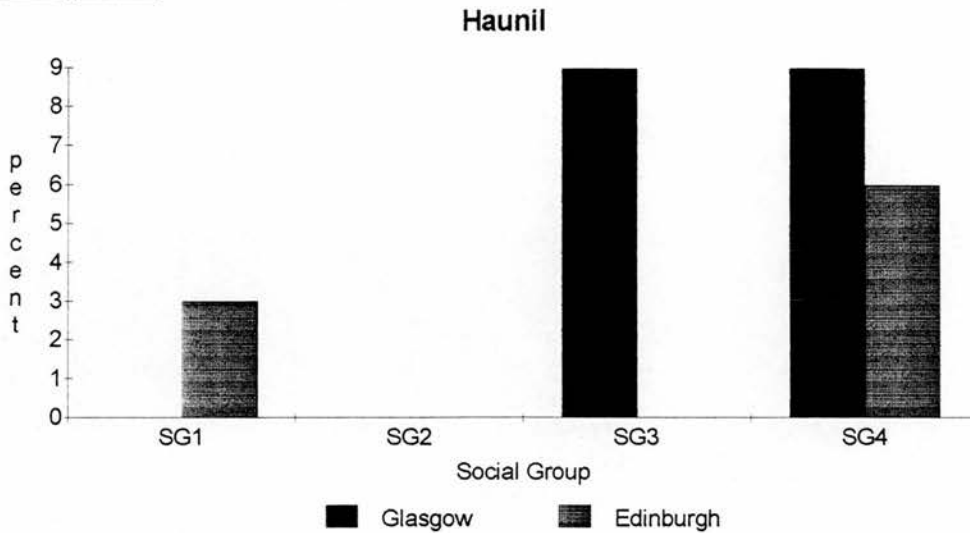
This item was included to investigate the sociolinguistic variation of Scots Syllable Final Consonant Loss. Syllable Final Consonant Loss (SFCL) is not a feature of SSE, but occurred in Scots around c1475. In Scots SFCL happened when two homorganic consonants, usually with the same voice quality (ie., voiced or voiceless) occurred together at the end of a stressed syllable. In this context the cluster was reduced ie., one of the consonants was lost. Variation between SSE and Scots with respect to SFCL, can be heard in words such as *handle*, *candle* and *wonder*. This is illustrated for the word *candle* in Fig. 26.

Fig.26

Scots:

OE	ModSc	
[kandəl]	[kanəl] or [kənəl]	(depending on dialect, see item STAWN/STAND above)

SFCL was undoubtedly the most wrongly reported pronunciation in this study. Only four informants (all from Glasgow) claimed that they do use the Scots SFCL pronunciation in words such as *handle*. None of those from Edinburgh seemed to be aware of any actual use of it. In fact, of the three informants who were found, during the course of the interviews to display SFCL, none actually admitted to it when asked about it specifically. The example used might well have had the most detrimental effect on the reporting of this pronunciation as the Scots item *haunil* also includes the Scots /ɔ/ pronunciation where SSE and some Scots dialects have /a/. As has been shown above with the example STAND/STAWN, informants in Edinburgh do not tend to use this particular Scots pronunciation. As a result, many of the Edinburgh informants may have been put off by the fact that *haunil* also contains the Scots /ɔ/, and, quite rightly, claimed to not use the pronunciation /hɔnəl/. In this way, it was very difficult to discover the nature of and extent of any sociolinguistic variation of SFCL for the Edinburgh informants, but by analysing the speech used in the interviews it was possible to witness a basic trend. The results for Edinburgh and Glasgow (where the use of SFCL was also quite under-reported) are shown in Graph 54.

Graph 54.

Though the numbers are few, it does appear to be the case that in both Glasgow and Edinburgh it is those from the lower social classes who are most likely to display SFCL. We cannot claim that this is a definitive picture, however, as an investigation using a more appropriate example would have to be undertaken in order to state categorically that SFCL is subject to variation in the way it is outlined in Graph 54.

5.2.4 BLIN/BLIND

Only one of the items included in the phonology part of the questionnaire showed any variation in terms of age group. As such, this is the only example of a suspected time-orientated change in pronunciation towards the Standard form. The pronunciation in question is that which is found in the word *blind* where the monophthong [ɪ] can be used in Scots. In this word the vowel is also

subject to SFCL in Scots. SSE has the diphthong [ʌɪ] and two consonants at the end.

BLIN / BLIND

This item was included to investigate the variation between a SSE long vowel or diphthong, while Scots has a short vowel in words such as *blind* and *ground*.

The reason for the difference between the Scots and SSE pronunciations concerns OE homorganic lengthening. In Southern English, in the eleventh century homorganic lengthening occurred, and this lengthened vowels when they occurred before clusters of sonorant and homorganic voiced obstruents eg., [nd] or [rd]. At the same time in Scots (ie., during the Pre-Literary Scots period), homorganic lengthening was more variable, and failed to occur to the same extent as in the south. In words such as *blind* and *ground* this lengthening did not occur in Scots. The lengthened vowels of Southern English were subject to the GVS, but as no lengthening had occurred in Scots, the vowels in these words remained unchanged. Therefore, we can get a diphthong in SSE in words such as *blind* and *ground*, while in Scots they retain a short vowel (and undergo SFCL, see §5.2.3, item HAUNIL/HANDLE). In the sixteenth century the Scots short vowels also decentred and lowered eg., [u] became [ʌ].

The development of the sounds in Scots *blin* are shown in Figure 27.

Fig. 27

Scots:

OE	MSc	ModSc	
[blind]	[blin]	[blm]	<i>blin</i>

Only three informants claimed that they use the Scots [ɪ] pronunciation in the relevant environments, and all of these informants were from the Glasgow sample. With so few informants it seems futile to try to attempt to witness any sociolinguistic trend, though it must be stated that all of these informants were aged 46-59, ie., were relatively old, and this may suggest that this pronunciation is in decline. This, in turn, would explain why so few informants claim to use it. A more detailed investigation of this pronunciation would have to be undertaken in order to confirm this, however, and this study can do little else but state that the Scots [ɪ] pronunciation where SSE has [ʌɪ] appears to be declining in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and this is **likely** to be caused by an ongoing linguistic change where the Scots pronunciation is being replaced by the SSE one.

5.2.5 SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR PRONUNCIATION

It appears from the results for the present study that in general there is no real decline in the use of Scots pronunciations in either Glasgow or Edinburgh. This is shown by the fact that for the vast majority of the items included in this section the results showed that while sociolinguistic variation in terms of social class does affect the pronunciation of words which have Scots and English alternatives, there are no significant differences in terms of age group. In this way, then, it appears that while as shown in §5.1 that Scots lexical items are subject to ongoing change, indigenous Scots pronunciations of words which have Scots and English pronunciation differences are not as susceptible to time-orientated linguistic change. This strongly supports the contention that Scots is not in decline as there is no evidence to suggest that all lexical change is loss, and there is no evidence to suggest that Scots pronunciations are in decline at all (within the usual social class parameters).

Pronunciation appears to be less marked than lexis. The results for the pronunciation section of the questionnaire show that those who are members of Social Group 4 are less likely to avoid a Scots pronunciation than they are to avoid certain lexical items. It would be

over-simplistic to state that all Scots lexical items are markers and all Scots pronunciations are indicators (see previously at §3.1), but it does appear that the informants involved in this study are more likely to be conscious of their use of most Scots lexical items than they are of the use of Scots pronunciations of Scots and English words. This leads us to the contention that in the circumstances which prompt stylistic variation or accommodation in a formal/SSE direction (see §2.1 and Chapter 3 above) it is easier for a Scots dialect speaker in both Glasgow and Edinburgh to modify his or her choice of lexis than it is to modify consistently his or her pronunciation of words which have Scots and English pronunciation differences.

5.2.6 RELIABILITY OF REPORTING

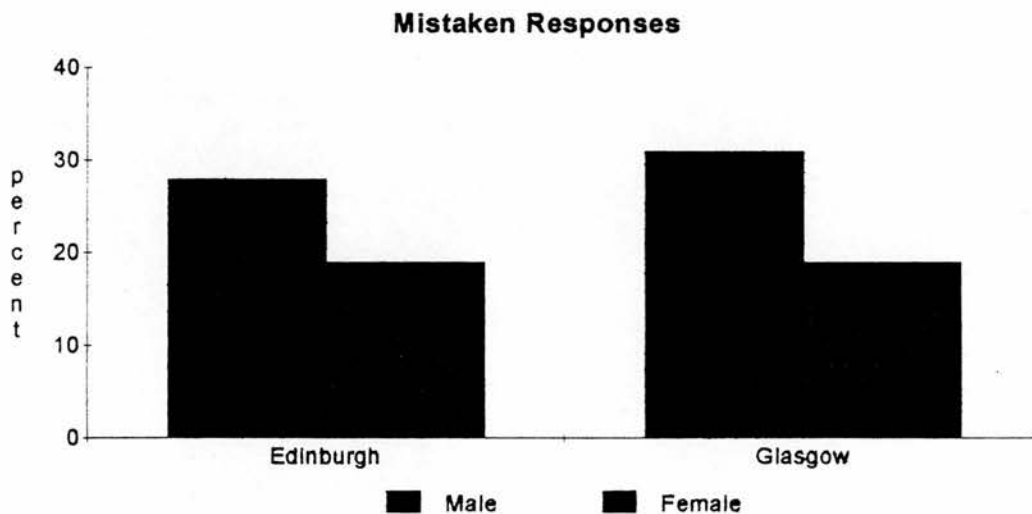
As has been discussed for every individual item in this section of the study, an informant's emphatic response about the use of a particular Scots item was checked against his or her actual language use during the interview. As noted, this test was far from a reliable indicator of what an informant's actual speech is like, but it did uncover some trends.

It appears from the responses to Question 43 (ie., How do you pronounce these words?) that informants from

Edinburgh are less likely to perceive their speech as accurately as those from Glasgow. This has been explained by the different attitudes towards dialect speech which exist in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Another trend which appeared concerns the difference in the accuracy of reporting between males and females. Trudgill (1972:41) found in his study of Norwich that "males were notably more accurate in reporting their linguistic behaviour than females". Graph 55 shows those informants for this study who were mistaken at all during the course of Question 43 in terms of gender.

Graph 55.



Graph 55 consists of those informants who stated as a response to Question 43 that they do not use a Scots form of a particular example, but were found actually to do so during the course of their interview. As shown, this study has found that in both Edinburgh and Glasgow it is

males who are more likely to give a response which does not reflect their actual language use. It is important to note here that there, generally, was no difference between the frequency of use of any particular non-standard linguistic form between males and females. In this way, it appears that it is males, rather than females, who are most likely to perceive their speech differently from that which is, in reality, used. This is the converse of that which has been found in most other sociolinguistic studies eg. Trudgill (1972), Labov (1972(a)), and puts any accepted notions of the differentiation of language perception on the basis of gender into question. It would appear that gender-based linguistic variation (real or perceived) requires further, and more detailed study than has been afforded it in the past.

5.3 SCOTS GRAMMAR

Question 44. Some of these sentences might be wrong.
What, if anything, do you think is incorrect?

This section of the questionnaire was designed to investigate the extent to which people are aware of the difference between Standard English grammar, and Non-standard English grammar (including SSE and Scots grammar).

The informants were shown some sentences and asked to state if each one was 'right' or 'wrong'. They were also asked how they would correct the sentence if they claimed that it was 'wrong'. All of the sentences contained features of non-standard grammar (except for the first one, see §5.3.1) and all were made up of grammatical constructions commonly heard in the spoken language of many Scottish people (Miller 1993). The aim of this question was, therefore, to investigate the extent to which people were able to recognize non-standard grammar when it appears in written form. This discerns the extent to which people can switch from their more natural spoken language to the more formal language of written Standard English. This also is another study of the effect education has on Scottish people, as an important aim of education is to teach Standard English, and particularly

the skill of writing it. Mastering what the schools call 'correct' grammar is a fundamental part of being able to write fluently in Standard English, and this question investigates the success the education system has had in the implementation of this principle.

The results for the items THE DAY/TODAY and DINNA/DON'T are also included in this section. For these items informants were asked which form they use, in the same way as they were with lexis and phonology (see above at \$5.1 and \$5.2 respectively). Each sentence and grammatically distinct item is dealt with individually.

5.3.1 HE WENT TO THE PARK

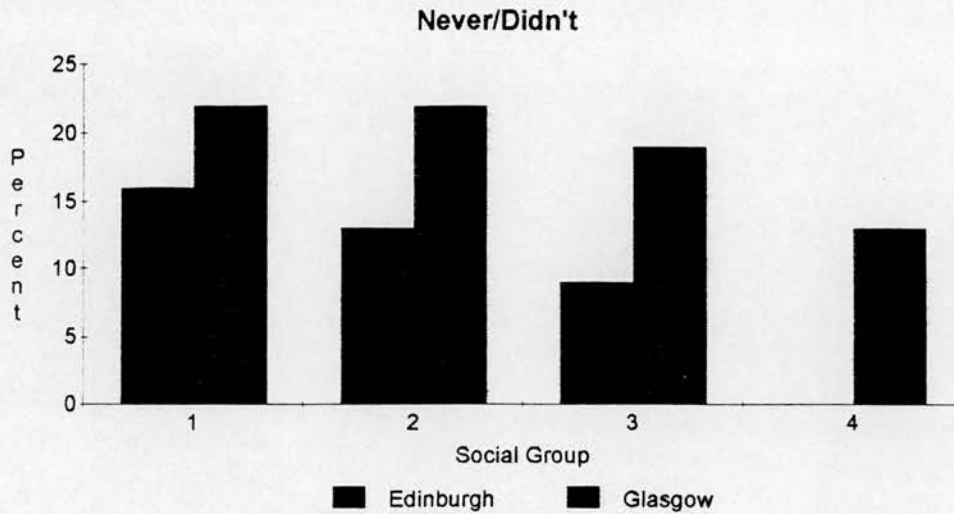
This sentence does not contain any non-standard linguistic features. It is included for two reasons. The first is in order to reassure the informant that this section is not as intimidating as it appears, and that the sentences in question are not difficult to understand, or made up of complicated grammatical structures. This is important in gaining the informant's confidence. The second reason for the inclusion of this sentence is that it shows the informant that there are included in this section sentences which are grammatically 'correct', and this serves to reassure the

informant that if he or she can not find anything wrong with any of the other sentences it is probably because there is, indeed, nothing wrong with them. Subsequently, the fact that this sentence appears first on the list is as important as its actual inclusion. This is, however, a slightly devious technique as non-standard syntax features in all the other sentences.

5.3.2 I NEVER HAD ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY THE BILL ON TUESDAY

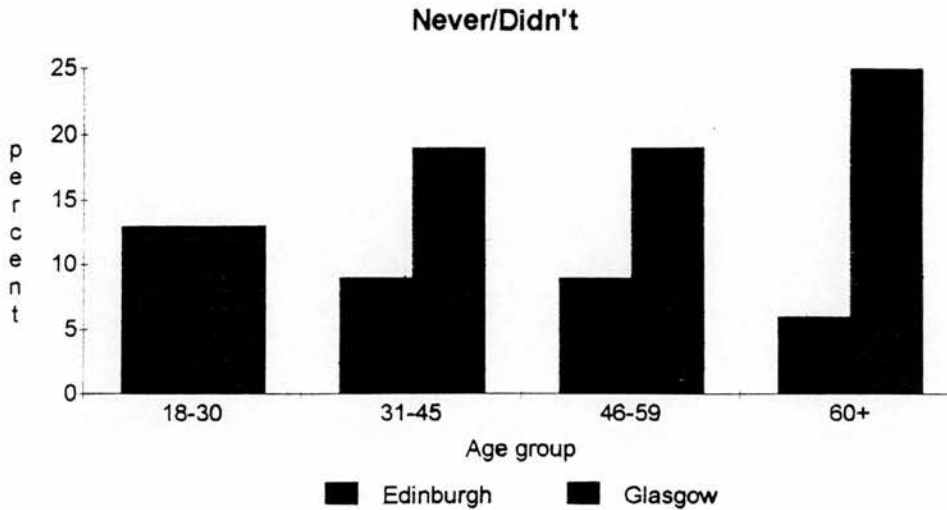
This sentence contains the Scots and SSE feature of the use of *never* where ESE would have *did not* or *didn't* (see previously at §2.1.1). In ESE the word *never* can only be used to describe an action which has been, is, or will be habitual. It can not, therefore, occur in a sentence like this one as *on Tuesday* limits the action (ie., not having enough money) to one specific time. Thus, in ESE the sentence must be *I didn't have enough money to pay the bill on Tuesday*.

The results from Edinburgh and Glasgow are significantly different. Only twelve of the thirty-two Edinburgh informants corrected this sentence to *I didn't have enough money* as opposed to twenty-four in Glasgow. Graph 56 shows these results in terms of social group.

Graph 56.

As Graph 56 shows, the number of informants from both Glasgow and Edinburgh who were able to 'correct' this sentence declines as social group declines from 1 to 4. Surprisingly, however, there are far fewer Edinburgh informants from all of the social groups who were able to correct this sentence than their social equivalents in Glasgow. It would appear that the use of *never* where ESE has *didn't* or *did not* is recognised as a marker (see previously at §3.1) in Glasgow to a far greater extent than it is in Edinburgh. In order to ascertain the extent to which this is true for all Scots or Scottish syntax we must look to see if similar results were found in this study for the other examples of non-standard grammar.

When the results for the present item were compared in terms of age group we can see very significant anomalies, particularly when the results from Edinburgh are compared to those from Glasgow.

Graph 57.

As Graph 57 shows, while the number of informants from Glasgow who were able to correct this sentence declines as age group increases, the reverse is true for the Edinburgh sample. In fact, all of the Glasgow informants aged 60+ were able to correct this item while only two of those of the same age from Edinburgh did. This appears to suggest that people of an older age group in Glasgow are more aware of non-standard syntax than those in Edinburgh. This might be a reflection of the emphasis education has put on 'correcting' grammar in the two cities. If this is the case then it would appear that at the time when Glaswegian people, particularly those now over the age of 60 years, were at school grammar was subject to more correction, criticism or discussion than it was in Edinburgh.

No significant differences were recorded for this item in terms of gender.

5.3.3 WHAT LIKE WAS SHE AT THE SINGING?

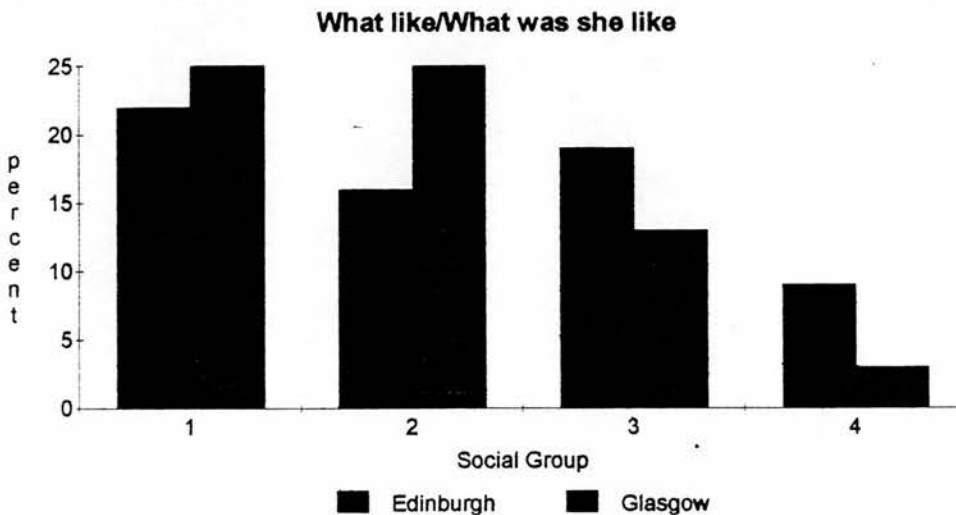
This sentence contains Scots and SSE grammar in the forms of *what like was she* and *at the singing*.

1. *What like was she*

This type of word order inversion can not occur in ESE. In its place ESE can only have *what was she like*, or *how was she* before a structure such as *at singing*.

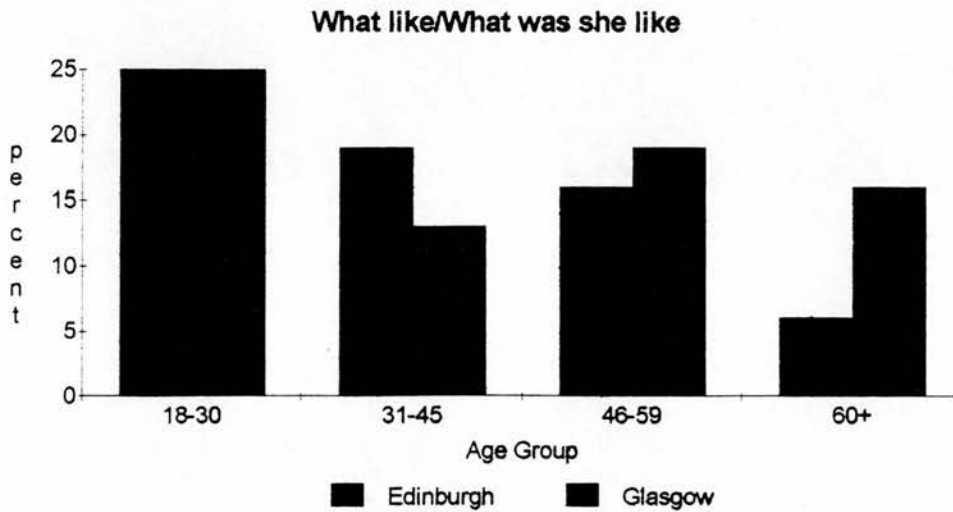
There appeared no significant differences in the number of informants from Glasgow and Edinburgh who were able to correct this part of the sentence to *what was she like*. When correlated with social group the results show that ability to correct this piece of non-standard syntax declines as social group declines from 1 to 4. This is illustrated in Graph 58.

Graph 58.



Similarly, when the results for this item are correlated with age group we find that ability to correct in both Glasgow and Edinburgh declines as age group increases.

Graph 59.



Graph 59 also shows that those of a higher age group ie., 46+ in Glasgow were more likely to be able to 'correct' this item than those of the same age in Edinburgh. This is consistent with the results for the item *never/didn't* discussed above (§5.3.2). In addition, these results show that all of the informants from both Edinburgh and Glasgow who are members of the lowest age group in this study, ie., 18-30, were able to 'correct' this item to its ESE equivalent. As the usual sociolinguistic variation in terms of social group was recorded (Graph 58 above) ie., that ability to 'correct' declines as social group declines from 1 to 4, it is unlikely that the anomaly found here in terms of age group is concerned with an increase in awareness of the non-standard nature

of the item *what like*. It seems more likely that the reason why informants of a younger age group are the most likely to 'correct' this item is because this particular piece of Scottish grammar is becoming used less ie., these results suggest that the occurrence of this particular piece of syntax is in decline as time progresses.

There were no significant differences in the results for this item when correlated with gender.

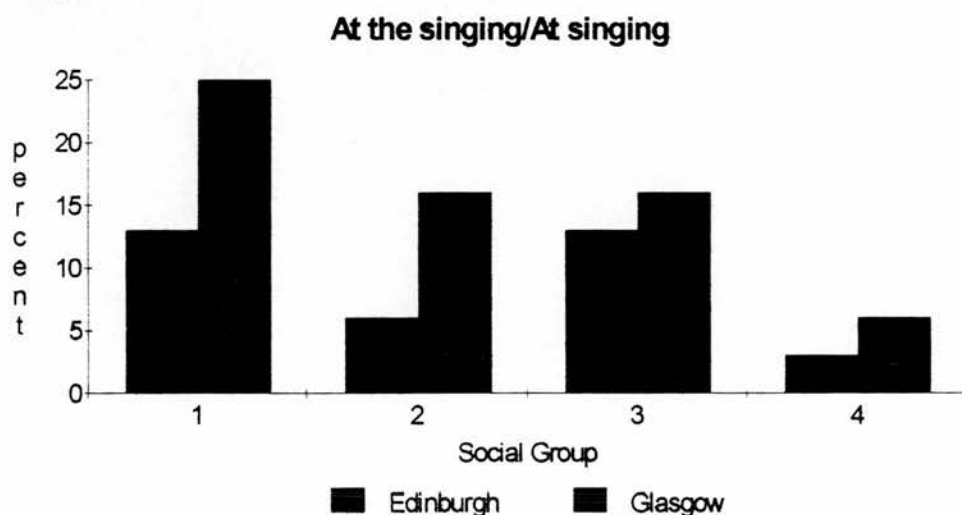
2. *At the singing*

This construction features the Scots and SSE practice of placing the definite article in front of a gerund. The definite article is used to a far greater extent in Scottish speech than in English, see previously at §2.1.1 and further for the item THE DAY/TODAY at §5.3.4.

The ESE equivalent of this sentence could be either *How was she at singing?* or *What was she like at singing?*, but due to the fact that, grammatically, these remain pretty clumsy, it is more likely that it would be completely re-phrased to create a sentence such as *What kind of singer was she?*

The number of informants from Glasgow and Edinburgh who claimed that the definite article would not be appropriate in this sentence differs significantly. Twenty of the Glasgow informants changed this item to *at singing* or completely rephrased the sentence to exclude the definite article, while only eleven of the Edinburgh informants did the same. While there appeared no significant differences in terms of age group or gender, the usual sociolinguistic variation in terms of social group was recorded, and this is illustrated in Graph 60. Graph 60 also illustrates the discrepancy in the figures for Glasgow and Edinburgh, which can, again, be explained by claiming that for some reason non-standard grammar is perceived as a marker to a greater extent in Glasgow than in Edinburgh.

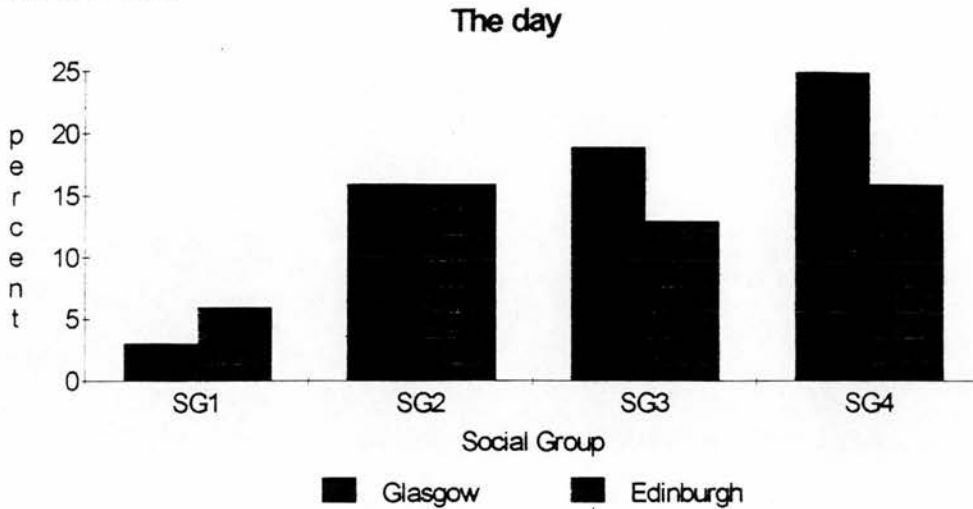
Graph 60.



5.3.4 THE DAY / TODAY

As the previous item includes the SSE and Scots practice of using the definite article in places where ESE does not (ie., *at the singing*), it seems appropriate to include here another example of this practice (see also §2.1.1 above). *The day/today* is, thus, included to investigate the Scots usage of the definite article as "a corrupt form of other prefixes and participles" (CSD:712). This use of *the* occurs in Scots idioms such as *the day* for SSE *today*, *the morrow* for SSE *tomorrow* and *the night* for SSE *tonight*, ie., with reference to times of the day. The definite article is used to a far greater extent in Scots than it is in SSE, and in a far greater number of contexts, but results for the use of *the day* cannot be said to represent any other instances of the use of the definite article in similar or dissimilar contexts.

The results for this item from Glasgow and Edinburgh are quite similar. A total of four informants (two from Glasgow and two from Edinburgh) were found to be mistaken about their use of the definite article in the relevant contexts. Once these four are added to those who admitted using the Scots *the day* the figures show that variation occurs in terms of social class.

Graph 61.

As Graph 61 shows, while the variation in terms of social class is quite regular for the Glasgow sample, it is less so for the Edinburgh sample. This seems to suggest that the distribution of the definite article in the relevant contexts is highly complex in Edinburgh, or that informants in Edinburgh are less reliable when it comes to reporting their actual language use. It seems most likely that the latter scenario is actually the case, and this is consistent with the contention that the use of Scots dialect is perceived less in Edinburgh than it is in Glasgow as a direct result of the fact that it has less notoriety and is subject to far less attention from the media and linguistic commentators. No significant differences in terms of age group or gender were recorded.

5.3.5 I SEEN A MAN THAT NEEDED HIS CAR WASHED

This sentence includes two features of non-standard grammar.

1. *I seen*

This is a convention of Scots grammar, where what is historically the past participle form has been generalised to the past tense (see also at §2.1.1 above). It only occurs in irregular verbs which have a different past tense and past participle (but does not occur in all of these eg., it would not occur with *to know* ie., *I known a man*. It would always be *I knew a man*).

The results for this item show that this particular variety of non-standard syntax is perceived as a marker in both Edinburgh and Glasgow. Almost all of the informants in this study were able to 'correct' *I seen* to *I saw*. In fact, several of the informants commented that constructions like this were much maligned in Scotland and indicative of urban speech. This is, in fact, not really the case as this type of construction is common to many dialects of Scots. As a result it can also be used by predominantly SSE speakers when they are not paying much attention to their speech, though it would appear that almost everyone is able to 'correct' it during

Standard English orientated accommodation. The reason why this is the case is probably to do with the schools' traditional treatment of this variety of non-standard grammar. Several of the informants gave constructions such as *I done* and *I seen* as examples of the kind of thing that was corrected in their speech when they were at school (see §4.4.1), and this along with the results obtained from the Teachers Sample (see Chapter 7) where teachers attest to the fact that they are likely to correct constructions like this when they occur in the speech of their pupils, shows that the schools are very conscious of the non-standard nature of this type of syntax. See further at §7.5 for teachers responses to questions about grammar.

2. *Needed his car washed*

This can not occur in ESE. As will be discussed in §5.3.6 below, *need* does not tend to be used in ESE as a main verb. In ESE it can only be used as a lexical verb ie., to convey a specific message related to the meaning of the verb itself, in this case 'to require'. In Scots, SSE and many varieties of non-standard English *need* can be used in the same way, and to mean the same thing as *want*. Also, in ESE, the past participle of *wash* (ie., *washed*) would not be used in the way it is in this sentence. ESE could, instead, use the verbal noun *washing* to convey

the meaning intended for this sentence. As such, a literal ESE translation of this non-standard grammar would be *wanted his car washing* ie., replacing *needed* with *wanted*, and the past participle of *wash* with the gerund *washing*.

The results for this item show that this variety of non-standard syntax is rarely perceived as such, as only one informant (from Edinburgh) made any attempt to 'correct' it. This shows that in both Glasgow and Edinburgh constructions such as this one are not perceived as non-standard, and as a result are not thought to be in need of correction. It would appear, on the strength of these results that education also fails to pick up on the non-standard nature of this type of construction. That is to say, had the teachers of these informants believed that this variety of syntax is in need of correction more informants would have been able to identify this item as non-standard, and attempted to give a standard equivalent.

5.3.6 DO YOU NEED TO GO?

As mentioned above in §5.3.5, *need* does not tend to be used as a main verb in ESE, instead being used only as a lexical verb. In this way, strictly speaking, in ESE the question *Do you need*

to go? means 'Must you go?' ie., *need* is used to emphasise the element of necessity in the question. In Scots the mandatory nature of the question is not necessarily referred to by the use of the word *need*. It can, quite simply, just refer to the action (in this case 'going') without implying any conditions associated with that action. In contexts such as the one presently being discussed, ESE uses verbs such as *want* or *have* where Scots and SSE can use *need*. Therefore, ESE translations for Scots and SSE *Do you need to go?* would be *Do you have to go?* or *Must you go* to convey the necessity element, or *Do you want to go?* to convey the meaning that the subject being referred to desires to leave, or *Are you going?* to simply refer to the action of leaving.

Only ten informants, four from Edinburgh and six from Glasgow, claimed that this sentence required 'correction'. Nine 'corrected' it to *Do you have to go?* and two 'corrected' it to *Do you want to go?*. These results show no variation in terms of age group, social group or gender, and show that when *need* is used in this context, without any qualification by tone of voice, intonation etc., the meaning most often assumed is that which refers to the literal meaning of the verb as a lexeme. In addition, the low number of informants who 'corrected' this question appears to suggest that the

use of *need* as a main verb is not considered to be non-standard language. This is reflected in the fact that this type of construction can appear as often in SSE as it can in a Scots dialect. It seems that where a non-standard idiom goes unnoticed by what is considered to be an authority eg., education, a non-standard option can be adopted into a standard form (in this case SSE). In this way, then, as is suggested by the results for other examples of non-standard syntax in this study, where the schools fail to notice the non-standard nature of a piece of grammar, that grammar is used confidently by the population in the belief that it is, in fact, 'correct'.

5.3.7 THEY CAKES WAS AWFUL DEAR.

In this sentence there are three examples of non-standard grammar.

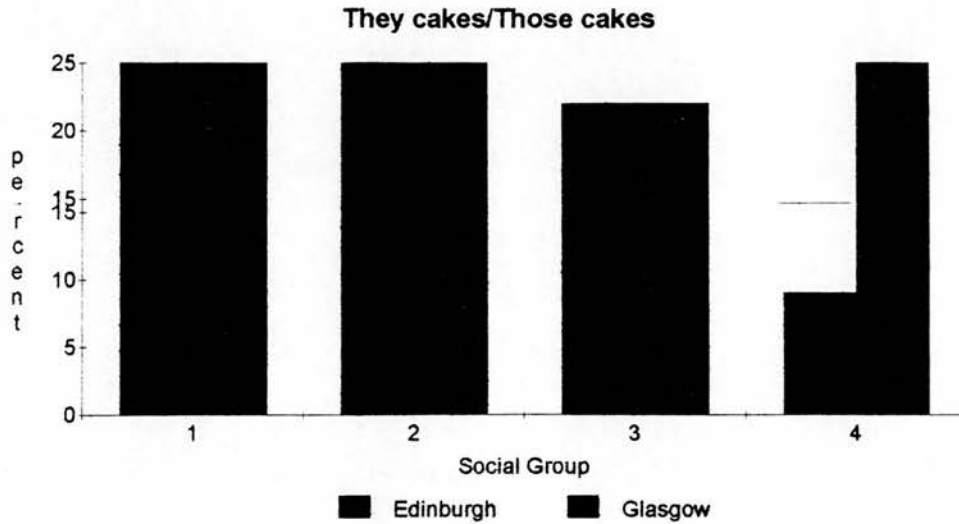
1. They cakes

This is an example of where Scots dialects use the pronoun *they* where ESE and SSE would have either *those*, *these*, or the definite article *the*.

The results from Edinburgh and Glasgow are similar, and show no significant variation in terms of age group or

gender. When correlated with social group, however, there is one interesting anomaly. This is illustrated in Graph 62.

Graph 62.



Graph 62 shows that while almost all of the informants were able to 'correct' *they* to an ESE alternative, those who could not were mainly Edinburgh informants from Social Group 4. As all of the Glasgow informants from the same social group were able to correct this item it would appear, once again, that if we assume that 'normal' sociolinguistic variation is constant, informants from Edinburgh are less likely to perceive and thus 'correct' non-standard grammar than those from Glasgow.

2. *Was*

This is an example of the Scots use of the third person singular past tense of *be* where ESE and SSE have the

third person plural past tense (conditioned by the plural noun *cakes*). Therefore, where Scots has *was* in this sentence ESE can only have *were*.

Only eight of the informants in this study failed to 'correct' *was* to *were* in this sentence. The figures do not show any variation in terms of age group, social group or gender. The high number of those who did 'correct' this suggests that this type of non-standard syntax is strongly perceived in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

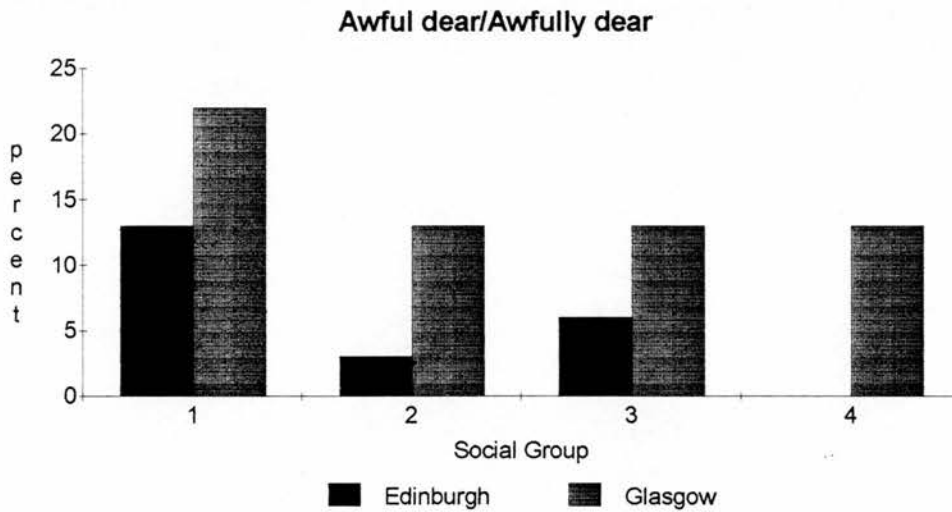
3. *Awful dear*

The ESE and SSE equivalent of this construction is *awfully dear*, where the adverb *awfully* is used rather than *awful*. On several occasions informants gave an adverb other than *awfully* as their 'correction' of this syntax eg., *very*. This might suggest that as the words *awful* and *awfully* are so similar in appearance people can be confused about which one is 'right', and as a result use a different adverb as a way of avoiding choosing the wrong one. Either way, (ie., whether this syntax was 'corrected' to *awfully* or *very*), the results from Edinburgh and Glasgow show significant differences.

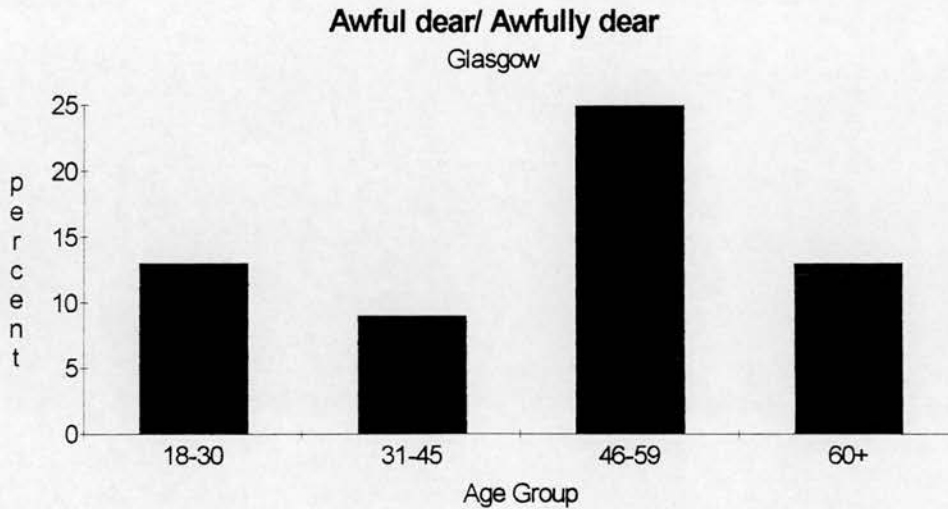
Nineteen of the Glasgow informants 'corrected' this part of the sentence as opposed to only seven of the Edinburgh

informants. The 'usual' sociolinguistic variation occurs in terms of social group (ie., the higher the social group the more likely an informant to correct the syntax). This is illustrated in Graph 63.

Graph 63.



When correlated with age group the Edinburgh results show little variation. The results from Glasgow, however, show that of those who were able to 'correct' *awful dear* to *awfully dear* or *very dear*, a large number of them were aged 46-59 as shown in Graph 64.

Graph 64.

Again, the results for this item show that informants from Glasgow were far more likely to correct non-standard syntax than informants from Edinburgh. It would also appear on the basis of these results that those in this study most likely to perceive constructions such as *awful dear* as wrong are Glaswegians aged 46-59 years. The reason for this could be explained by the fact that by the time people are age between 46 and 59 years they are parents and as such are more pedantic about things like grammar than those of other age groups. This is one theory, but as the results for this study do not show any trends of this kind for the Edinburgh informants it is impossible to say that this applies to the results for this study as a whole. A fuller investigation in to the relationship between linguistic habits and age group would have to be undertaken in order to ascertain the extent to which age conditions speech (perceived and real). In a study as broad as the present one it is only

appropriate to say that there appears to be some suggestion of age-conditioned linguistic habits in Glasgow at least.

No significant differences in terms of gender were recorded for this item.

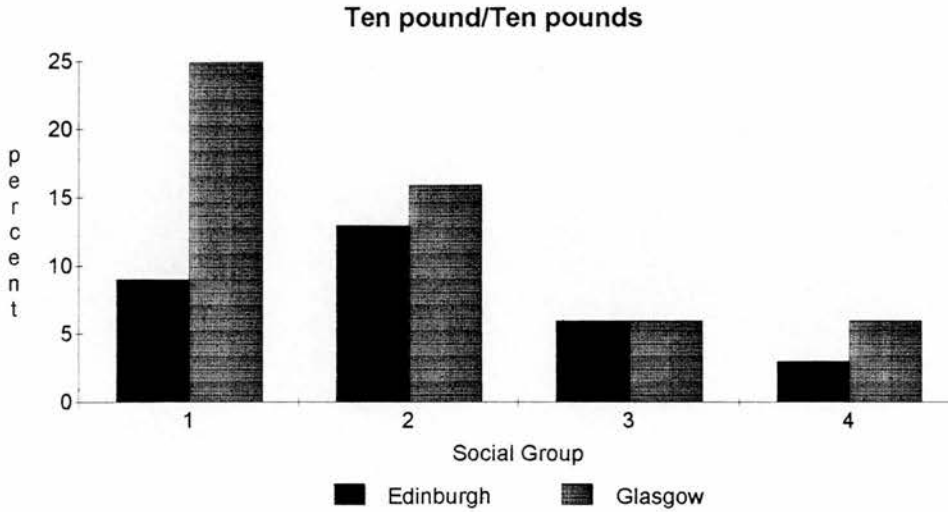
5.3.8 SHE GOT TEN POUND OFF OF HER MOTHER.

This sentence contains two examples of non-standard syntax.

1. *Ten pound*

In Scots several nouns are of a different declension class than in ESE (see also §2.1.1 above). One of these is the noun *pound* which is General in ESE and SSE ie., the plural is *pounds*, but Invariant in Scots ie., the plural is *pound*.

While there were no significant differences in the results for this item when correlated with age group and gender, when compared on the basis of social group there appeared discrepancy between the figures for Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Graph 65.

Graph 65 shows that while the 'usual' sociolinguistic variation in terms of social group exists in Glasgow (ie., the higher the social group the more likely the informant is to correct this syntax), it does not occur in the same way in Edinburgh. In fact, the results from the Edinburgh sample are that far fewer informants were able to correct *ten pound* to *ten pounds* than in Glasgow.

2. *Off of*

This is an example of where Scots dialects can have *off of* (and sometimes just *off*) as prepositions where ESE and SSE have *from*.

Again, more informants from Glasgow were able to 'correct' this item than those from Edinburgh. Though there appeared no significant differences in terms of

social group, age group or gender it must be noted than, as usual, all informants from Glasgow who were members of Social Group 1 'corrected' *off of to from*.

5.3.9 HE MIGHT COULD ENJOY THE PARTY.

This is an example of a Scots grammatical construction which uses more than one modal verb to modify the main verb. ESE can only have one modal verb per main verb and as such would have the syntactically complicated sentence *He may have been able to enjoy the party* as a literal translation. It would be most likely that *may* would be used in ESE as an alternative to *might* as *might* is used in Scots and SSE to a greater extent than *may*. This is because *may* is used to infer probability as well as permission in ESE. In SSE and Scots *may* is rarely used and when it is it tends to express permission only (though in Scots *may* can, in turn, be replaced in this context with *can*, see §5.3.10 below).

All but two informants (both from Glasgow) claimed that this sentence was completely alien to them. It was 'corrected' to *He may*, *He could* and *He might enjoy the party*. This suggests that this type of double modal construction is becoming obsolete in both Edinburgh and Glasgow as informants from all social groups, age groups and genders were not only capable of correcting it, but

evidently also saw it as incomprehensible. The two Glasgow informants who claimed that there appeared nothing wrong with the sentence were both male, members of Social Group 3 and aged 40+ years. There appears to be no reason why these two men were the only ones who claimed that this sentence was "fine" particularly when all of the other informants claimed to have difficulty understanding it, but the explanation might actually lie in the fact that this example came at the end of the long interview when informants' concentration and interest was beginning to wane. Either way, the overall results for this item suggest strongly that this type of double modal construction is losing prevalence as a feature of Scottish grammar in Edinburgh and Glasgow at least.

5.3.10 CAN I HAVE A BISCUIT?

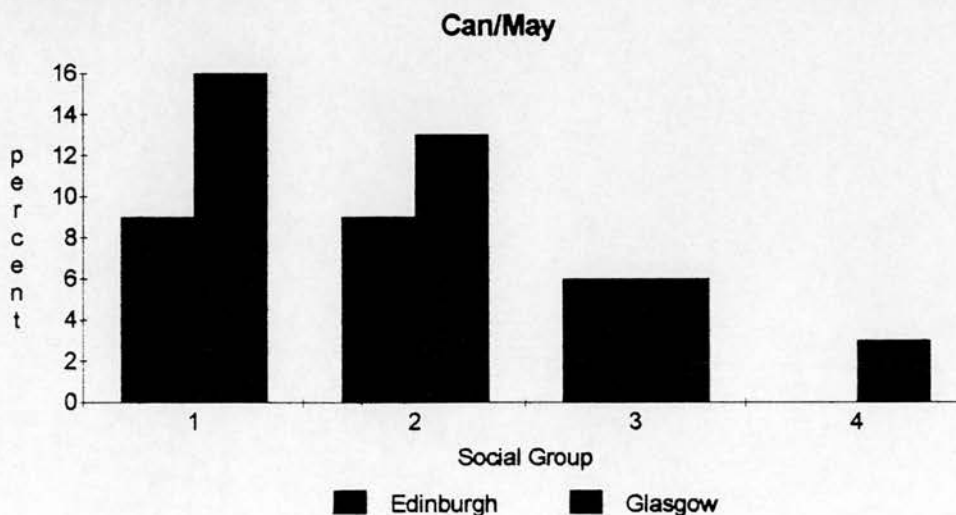
This is an example of the Scots (and often SSE) use of the modal *can* where ESE has *may*. As stated in §5.3.9 above, *may* is used to a lesser extent in SSE and Scots than in ESE as the terms *can* and *might* tend to be used to express permission and probability respectively. This sentence would, therefore, be 'translated' into ESE as *May I have a biscuit?*

The results from Edinburgh and Glasgow are similar, though again, more informants from Glasgow were able to

'correct' *can* to *may* than those from Edinburgh. In fact, the overall number of informants who were able to 'correct' this sentence was relatively little (ie., around half the total number of informants were able to 'correct' this sentence). This suggests that the non-standard *can* is perceived as such to a lesser extent than other examples of non-standard grammar. That is to say, it would appear that *can* in place of ESE *may* does not tend to be seen as a marker of 'incorrect' grammar to the same extent as many others discussed in this section. Bearing this in mind, it is still worth analysing the results as they stand, as enough informants claimed that there was a 'correct' way to phrase this sentence.

While there appeared no significant differences in terms of age group and gender, the usual sociolinguistic variation was recorded in terms of social group. This is illustrated in Graph 66.

Graph 66.



5.3.11 HOW DID YOU NOT GO DOWN THE SHOPS FIRST?

There are three examples of non-standard grammar in this sentence.

1. *How*

This is an example of where Scots (and often SSE) can have the word *how* where ESE has *why*. In ESE (and, strictly speaking, SSE) *how* can only mean *in what way* or *by what means*. In Scots *how* can also mean *for what reason* ie., literally, ESE *why*.

Most of the informants from Glasgow and Edinburgh were able to 'correct' *how* to *why*, though the number from Edinburgh were fewer than the number from Glasgow. There appeared no significant differences in the results when correlated with age group and gender, and the 'usual' sociolinguistic variation in terms of social group. As this type of variation has been illustrated throughout the present study the graphic representation of these figures has been omitted.

2. *Did you not*

This is an example of where Scots negates a sentence in a different way from ESE (see also §5.3.2 above for the

Scots and SSE use of *never*; §5.3.12 below for the Scots use of *dinna*; and previously at §2.1.1 for a discussion on Scots negation). The present item is an example of the Scots (and often SSE) use of grammatical constructions like *did you not* where the negative particle is separate from the verb it is negating. In ESE the negative particle stays with the verb (often in a contracted form), and as such the ESE translation of this item would be *didn't you*.

Relatively few informants were able to correct this item, but again, of those who could the majority were from Glasgow. Little variation in terms of social group, age group or gender was evident, and this along with the fact that less than half of the total number of informants were able to correct it at all suggests that this type of construction is not perceived as non-standard in Glasgow and Edinburgh by many people.

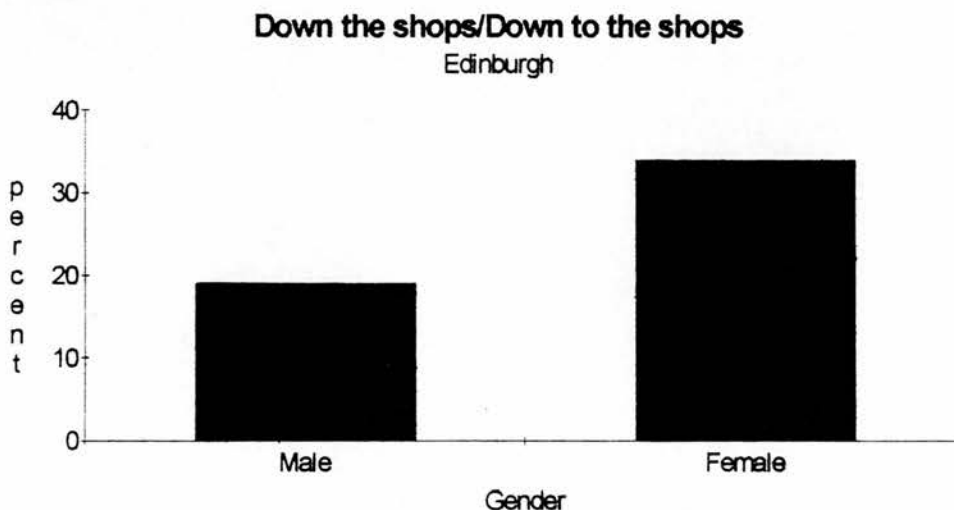
3. *Down the shops*

This is an example of Scots grammar which omits the preposition *to*. In ESE and SSE it is possible to omit *down* but not *to*. That is to say that in ESE and SSE sentences such as *I went down to the shop* and *I went to the shop* are both equally 'correct'. They cannot, however, have either of these grammatical constructions

without the inclusion of the preposition *to*. Scots can have this type of sentence without the use of *to* so long as there remains a preposition in the sentence. Therefore, *I went down the shops* is possible in Scots.

Again, more informants from Glasgow were able to 'correct' this part of the sentence than those from Edinburgh. While the Glasgow results show the usual sociolinguistic variation in terms of social group and no significant variation in terms of age group or gender, the results from Edinburgh are somewhat different. There appears in Edinburgh no significant variation in terms of social group or age group for this item, but a relatively large discrepancy in terms of gender. This is illustrated in Graph 67.

Graph 67.



Graph 67 shows that almost twice as many women than men in Edinburgh corrected this item. This appears strange as

there were no significant trends in terms of gender for any other examples of non-standard syntax, and the results from Glasgow for this item show no gender-based variation at all. Without any supporting data it is difficult to state that this is caused by anything other than chance.

5.3.12 DINNA/DON'T

This is another example of how Scots can negate differently from ESE (and often also SSE). See previously at §2.1.1 for a discussion on Scots negation, and §5.3.2 and §5.3.11 above for examples of the Scots and SSE use of *never* and *not* respectively.

Dinna is a Scots morphological form. It is an example of the use of the Scots enclitic negative particle *-na* where ESE and SSE tend to have a contracted enclitic negative particle *-n't*. In Edinburgh, the Scots form of this particular negated item is pronounced [dne] rather than [dɪna]. This type of enclitic negation can occur in Scots negated auxiliary verbs in the past and present tenses eg., SSE *didn't*, Scots *didna*; SSE *don't*, Scots *dinna*.

Although enclitic negation can occur for many auxiliary verbs, the results for this item cannot be said to

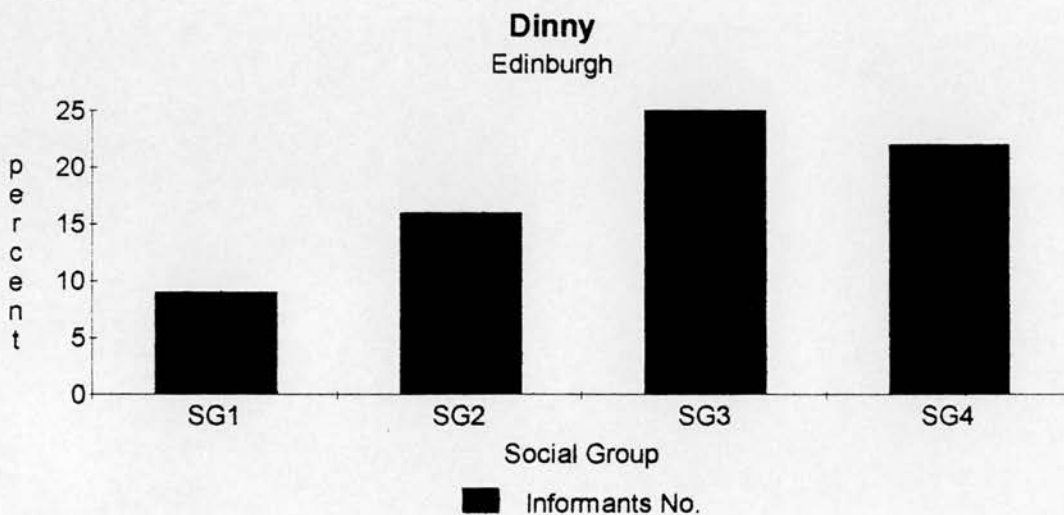
represent anything other than the enclitic negation of the verb *do*.

The results for the Edinburgh sample are significantly different from those from the Glasgow sample. Three of the Glasgow informants claimed to use *dinna*, a number too small to be able to make any claims about the variation of the use of this form. It does, however, seem most likely that these informants were mistaken about their use of this item as experience of Glasgow dialect tells us that *dinna* (or *dinny*) is not a feature of the language spoken there. This morphological form is not included in any formal dictionaries as being indicative of Glasgow dialect. As the notoriety of Glasgow dialect has also seen the rise of literature cataloguing the language used there for purposes of a humorous nature rather than a strictly linguistic one eg., Lets Parliamo Glasgow (1983) and The Patter series (1985) these were also used in this case for reference purposes. None of these publications includes the Scots *dinna* for the negated form of the first and second person singular present tense, and the negative form of all 'persons' of the plural present tense of the verb *do*. They do, however, include the Scots *dizny* (spelling according to Monro (1985)) for the negative form of the third person singular present tense, and it is a well established fact that the negative form of the past tense of *do* is *didna* (spelling according to

the CSD) in Glasgow as elsewhere. With this in mind, then, it is possible that the three Glasgow informants who claimed to use *dinna* were actually confusing the third person singular and the past tense forms of *do* with the use of the *dinna* form of the verb. This is made all the more likely by the fact that the vast majority of the Glasgow informants from all social groups claimed that they use *don't* in the relevant context.

The situation in Edinburgh is entirely different as Graph 68 illustrates, as it appears that the use of *dinna* is common in Edinburgh, and is subject to variation in terms of social class.

Graph 68.



Two of the Edinburgh informants were found to be mistaken about their use of *dinna*, as they claimed not to use it when they were recorded during the interview as actually doing so. When these two are added to those who admitted

to using the Scots form, we can see that *dinna* is subject to variation in terms of social class ie., the amount of people in Edinburgh who use the Scots form increases as social group declines from 1 to 4. No significant differences were apparent once the figures had been correlated with age group or gender.

The item *dinna* is, however, somewhat exceptional in that the difference between the results for Glasgow and Edinburgh are most probably concerned with the failure of linguistic features common in the dialect of Edinburgh to spread to other dialects (as discussed in §5.1.2 above for lexis).

5.3.13 SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR GRAMMAR

Sections 5.3.1 to 5.3.12 detailed the results for each individual example of non-standard grammar. As a whole these results are revealing.

There are several examples noted above which appear to go unnoticed as being Scots or otherwise non-standard. Conversely, other examples of Scots and otherwise non-standard grammar included in the sections above seem to be well known for being 'incorrect'. It would appear that where notoriety exists so does prejudice. This is

undoubtedly bred by the Scottish education system. There is no linguistic reason why a sentence such as *I never had enough money to pay the bill on Tuesday* is regarded as more acceptable than *I seen a man*. They are both non-standard constructions and are both indicative of a Scots or at least Scottish speaker. It seems that where authority figures eg., schools, parents (who also once went to school) perceive an aberration, they correct it in speech until they lose sight of the fact that it is not 'wrong', just non-standard. This is perpetuated over time until it seems everybody believes that a non-standard form is wrong, even though it is spoken by people around them (even themselves at times). This does not appear to happen if the institutions of authority do not notice in the first place the non-standard nature of a piece of grammar. For example, a grammatical construction such as *Why did you not* does not inspire the amount of comment (and often loathing) as *I done it* does, and the reason for this has nothing to do with linguistics or objective reasoning. It does, however, have everything to do with perception of language. Also, as Milroy and Milroy (1985:39) noted, forms which are considered to be 'wrong' can often be perceived as such purely because they deviate from that which is considered to be 'correct' ie., the Standard form, in this case SSE. For example, they quote Shakespeare: "I have already chose my author" (Othello 1,i). This form (similar to

that detailed for this study at §5.3.5 above) would be stigmatised today purely because it deviates from the written Standard form which, as outlined in Chapter 1, is not linguistically or functionally superior to Non-standard language varieties. This stigmatisation is, thus "for reasons that have nothing to do with linguistic values, but which are purely social" (Milroy & Milroy 1985:40). The results for the present study show that in Glasgow and Edinburgh at least informants are aware of the non-standard nature of some grammatical items, but not of others and this is concerned with what they have been taught is correct and incorrect rather than any real understanding of language variation or Scots.

It would appear on the basis of the results for this section on syntax that where non-standard grammar is perceived it is perceived and corrected by more people from Glasgow than from Edinburgh. This seems to suggest that perceptions of non-standard language are more prevalent in the minds of Glaswegians than people from Edinburgh. The results from the rest of this study, particularly the sections on lexis (§5.1) and pronunciation (§5.2) support this claim as in these sections too it was found that informants from Glasgow tended on the whole to be more aware of the non-standard nature of linguistic forms than informants from Edinburgh. The reason why this is the case undoubtedly

lies in the fact that Glasgow dialect is a well-known non-standard speech variety, where-as Edinburgh dialect is not regarded as either an identity marker or a form of Scots to the same extent. This would appear to be the view of those who actually use a strong Edinburgh dialect as well as those who do not. It is, however, entirely mistaken to believe that Glasgow dialect is somehow more non-standard or 'incorrect' than Edinburgh dialect. It is also entirely mistaken to believe that Glasgow dialect is more 'Scots' than Edinburgh dialect as they both retain features of the Scots language as well as develop dialect-specific linguistic changes and innovations of their own. As stated in §5.2.5 Glasgow, in being so well-known for its local vernacular, can and does act as a focal area from which other dialects can acquire linguistic options. While there is evidence that this has been and is happening in Edinburgh (ie., there is evidence to suggest that some linguistic forms traditionally associated with Glasgow dialect are being adopted into the speech of people from Edinburgh), Edinburgh dialect still retains and develops linguistic forms which are indigenous. What Edinburgh dialect does not have, however, is the type of wide-spread notoriety (and often antipathy) that Glasgow dialect has. Therefore, Scots and otherwise non-standard linguistic forms are not perceived as such to the same extent and with the same vehemence as they can be in Glasgow. This

appears to be the case throughout the social range, and it is possible that the schools in Edinburgh are less concerned by Scots and otherwise non-standard speech forms than the schools in Glasgow. That is not to say that the schools in Edinburgh do not correct the speech of school-children, as the results for the Teachers' Sample (Chapter 4) attest. It is just more likely that when children's speech is being corrected there is less labelling of it as 'wrong'. In Glasgow the view of many people, including teachers, appears to be that there is a right way to say a thing and a wrong way, and Glasgow dialect is always the 'wrong' way. This would explain why informants from Glasgow appear to be more aware of the choices between non-standard and standard language use available to them than people from Edinburgh. This does not, however, suggest that Glasgow dialect is in any way in decline. It would appear that while people in Glasgow still speak with varying degrees of strength of Glasgow dialect (depending on external sociolinguistic variables), they are taught from an early age that this language use is wrong and that they should be using either ESE or SSE equivalents. This does not appear to be the case to the same extent in Edinburgh (though no doubt it does happen). As a result, while both Scots dialects (ie., Edinburgh and Glasgow) can be seen on the basis of the results for this study (as well as others eg., Sandred 1982, Macaulay 1977) to be spoken by many people,

it would appear that those from Glasgow are better linguistically-versed than those from Edinburgh. This can be seen as a good thing or a bad thing. A better understanding of language can be said to be advantageous to a population because it is conducive to being fluent in the standard language form, and this is necessary in today's society for social and economic advancement in the international market. On the other hand, however, the way in which the people of Glasgow seem to have acquired this understanding of language is through constant criticism of their own language variety. This can be said to act as a major disadvantage as to decry Glasgow dialect is to down-grade it from an indigenous Scots dialect with history and credibility to an incorrect form of English. This, as discussed in §1.8, encourages linguistic insecurity in speakers and belittles this particular form of the Scots language (at least) and any literature written in it.

What is necessary in Glasgow and Edinburgh is an educational programme which acknowledges the necessity of fluency in SSE but pays full attention to and respect for the language spoken by many of the population, the Scots language as a whole, and Scots literature. Proposals which address this need have been made and will be implemented in the near future in Scottish schools. These will be discussed fully in Chapters 6 and 7, but it is

worth noting here that until education in Scotland acknowledges spoken and literary Scots the urban dialects (at least) will continue to be regarded as 'slang' or 'incorrect', and this is not only insulting to both the language itself and its speakers, but objectively wrong.

CHAPTER SIX

SCOTS LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

6. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This chapter will give an account of the treatment Scottish literature and Scots dialect speech have received in the schools since the Education Act of 1872. This is presented as a background and introduction to the education section of the present study; the Teachers' Sample and the consultation with education advisors and the inspectorate (detailed in Chapter 7). As noted in §1.1 this section on education (ie., Chapters 6 and 7) is intended to complement and supplement the larger sociolinguistic study of Glasgow and Edinburgh.

NB. Terms such as '*Scots literature*', '*literature in Scots*' and '*Scots dialect literature*' all refer to literature written in the Scots language or a specific Scots dialect. '*Scottish literature*' is a broader term meaning literature which is written in Scots (or Gaelic), or literature which is written by a Scottish author, or is set in Scotland.

6.1 SCOTS AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION

For decades commentators have been criticising the Scottish Office Education Department's (SOED) "persistent tendency...to suppress anything characteristically Scottish" (Low 1974:19) (ie., Scottish history, culture, literature and language).

The languages of 'Lowland' Scotland (ie., Scots and Scottish English), and their histories are integral parts of Scottish history, literature and culture (see previously at §2.1 and §2.2). Bearing this in mind,

Aitken (1976:51) notes that "in the face of so much that is special about the Scottish language, it is astonishing that its condition and situation receive so little attention in our institutions of education".

In the last ten years or so the attitude of the SOED towards the teaching of the Scots language has softened. It has started to acknowledge that years of linguistic discrimination have undermined the status of Scots and that this, in turn, has produced linguistic insecurity in the speakers of Scots dialect (see §1.8 and §2.4 above). What has occurred is that Scots, through its loss of status, is seen by many as a 'debased' form of English (see Chapter 2 *Introduction*). New proposals about Scots language in education are only now being treated in any systematic way by the SOED, but even as the most recent proposals on the subject state, "it may be...already too late" (Scottish Language Project Proposals 1993:18).

This section discusses the role that the Scottish education system has had in perpetuating the myth that the Scots language is 'incorrect' English, and enhancing notions of the social inferiority of Scots since the 1872 Education Act centralised education in Scotland. This, therefore, follows on from those questions in the Community Sample questionnaire which asked informants about their experience of education, with regards to language use and study (see previously at §4.4).

The arguments for the teaching of Scots language and literature (as well as history and culture) are well documented. Murison (1979(b):62) claims that the most important argument for the teaching of Scots is that it would be made clear "that it is not a matter of a bad form of speech against a good but of two distinct historic speeches and their relationships with one another". Aitken (1976:55) takes a slightly different stance by advocating the inclusion of Scots in the curriculum primarily because:

our pupils deserve the chance to learn as much as we can offer them about their own language in their own environment, about its history and its present condition and their own position in this, at the same time acquiring tolerance for the language of their fellow-countrymen and some degree of security in speech for themselves.

We can see here the point that Aitken is trying to make, but we must remember that Scots cannot be said to be the language of all schoolchildren. Aitken suggests that he is aware of this when he mentions the language of "their fellow-countrymen", which presumably includes English.

While both Aitken and Murison's reasons for the inclusion of Scots in the school curriculum may be admirable in theory, in practice, any inclusion would pose great problems for the education system. All Scottish people have at the very least, a passive knowledge of Standard English through exposure to television, radio etc. A large number of these people are speakers of SSE who may

have such deeply entrenched notions about the social superiority of English that they may have no interest in, or knowledge of the Scots language. Aitken (1976:55) claims that this, ironically enough, is justification for teaching Scots, as he contends that those who habitually speak SSE "may well retain rather more Scottish features than is usually realised", and that "since they are Scots, the Scottish tongue is an important part of their environment and their history".

There is no doubt that, in the last century at least, the teaching of Scottish related subjects in Scottish schools has been, as Murison (1979(b):58) writes, "abysmally inadequate". Throughout the century the teaching of Scots language and literature has been, if not actively discouraged, left at the discretion of individual teachers and departments with a specific interest in the subject. Despite the inclusion of optional Scots texts in the SOED Higher English syllabus since the 1980's (see §4.5.2 above), there is still no obligatory formal training for teachers on the teaching of such texts and the language they involve. Consequently, the amount of exposure to the Scots language in literature afforded pupils is, though increasing, still very limited. Furthermore, this lack of opportunity to experience literature in Scots through education is increased for those who leave school before the fifth and sixth (ie.,

'Highers') years of secondary school. As Borrowman (1979:52) states, "too many pupils can complete their secondary education without having read a single Scottish text". Indeed, the results obtained for the present sociolinguistic study show that in Glasgow and Edinburgh those in the youngest age group (ie., aged 18-30) were actually less likely to have experienced literature in Scots (or literature set in Scotland or literature written by Scottish authors) at school than those in all of the other age groups (see §4.4.2).

Exposure to literature in Scots is, however only half the story. Scottish education is also criticised for its traditional suppression of the Scots language as it is spoken by pupils. In this century Scottish schools have advocated that the language of the classroom be Scottish Standard English, to the exclusion of the Scots dialects which have been regarded as 'wrong' or 'debased' forms of English, and thus, inappropriate for the formal school situation (see §6.2 below). The SOED's traditional demand that pupils communicate in SSE has been the source of much confusion for both the teachers and the pupils in Scottish schools. The main problem has been that, with no guidelines from the SOED, teachers have regarded Scots pronunciations as bad English ones which are therefore in need of correction. This is exacerbated by the fact that most teachers in Scottish schools are, themselves,

products of the Scottish education system where their speech had, a generation before, been corrected in exactly the same way (see Chapter 7 for an account of the Teachers Sample. This perception of Scots being 'wrong' English has been held ever since the Education Department demanded that SSE be the language of the classroom. Further, with no instruction for teachers about what is actually 'correct' and 'incorrect', "it is evident that what was being condemned as 'incorrect' or 'slovenly' speech were, in many instances, the distinctively Scots features of the local speech" (Williamson 1982:61).

To exclude from the schools what for many people is their first language is to indirectly suggest that that first language is inferior in some way. This has been shown by commentators such as Macaulay (1975) and Cheshire (1984) to produce linguistic insecurity and reticence in pupils (see previously at §1.8 and §2.4). Only very recently have the first real attempts to address these problems been initiated in the forms of the 5-14 Report on the English Language (see further at §6.4), and the Scottish Language Project Proposals (described and discussed in §6.5).

6.2 POLICY ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION 1872 - 1980

Before 1872 education in Scotland was sporadic, non-compulsory and based on the good will of the burgh or local charities (often church-related). The 1872 Education Act centralised educational power and policy by establishing the Scottish Education Department (SED), now the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED), and advocated free education, compulsory for all under the age of fourteen (later raised to sixteen). In 1886 a document called the Scotch Code was produced which declared "the formal establishment...in all schools of 'English' as a class subject in its own right" (Williamson 1982:56). This obliged the schools to teach pupils to understand, write and speak English and as there was no policy on the vernacular of pupils (and probably many teachers too), overall skills in English improved significantly after this period, to the detriment of skills in the vernacular. In fact, the SED actively discouraged the use of the vernacular, condemning it as a language of inferiority.

By the turn of the present century discrimination against Scots was so well established that SED Circular 329 included:

instruction in Reading and Speaking Voice production; the discrimination of English sounds and their representation in phonetic and common alphabets (HMI 1902 XXXIII:785, Williamson 1982:63).

Effectively, this gave teachers guidelines on how to 'correct' Scots pronunciations.

Throughout this century policy and guidelines on language created by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools' Reports were not, however, completely straightforward as there was (and continues to be) confusion over what policy should be. For instance, while still maintaining the paramount importance of the teaching of English, 1907 guidelines on the speech of pupils proposed that where a young child had not yet mastered fluent English, he or she was permitted to use his native Scots in the classroom, and justification for this proposal was based on the recognition of Scots as a "historically...national language" (Williamson 1982:65). There was, however, no mention of any systematic teaching of Scots literature, though the SED claimed that it had no objection to it so long as it did not interfere with the teaching of English language and literature. This relegated any teaching of Scottish literature to the discretion of individual teachers who had a specific interest in it, and with no guidelines on how to go about this, these subjects were virtually non-existent (except for at a Primary-School level ie., those under eleven years old). In the 1920's

the SED further suppressed the inclusion of Scots in the curriculum by declaring that there was "no room in the school timetable for teaching it in a statutory way, either as a separate subject or as a part of the English syllabus" (Williamson 1982:77).

Those with an interest in Scots have had sporadic glimpses of encouragement, however, and this has been provided by the Scots associations such as the St. Andrews Society and the Scottish National Dictionary Association (SNDA). These associations have met with the SED secretary on several occasions throughout the century to discuss Scots (particularly literature) in education, though their efforts appear to have had, until very recently, no significant effect on educational policy in Scotland. By declaring that the teaching of literature in Scots be at the discretion of individual teachers, and with no central policy on how to go about this, and no allocation of time in the curriculum, literature in Scots was virtually excluded from the schools until the 1980's (though many schools have attempted to include some Scottish writers (of literature in English or Scots) in the literature courses for younger, often primary-school children).

Policy on the language of the classroom continued to discriminate against the Scots dialect speaker. During

this century most broad dialect speech is either rural or urban working-class. The SED seems to have considered rural Scots as unfortunate and urban Scots as 'wrong', and advocated the tolerance of the former and remedial action on correction of the latter. By the 1950's the SED considered imitation as the best form of teaching 'correct' pronunciation (ie., SSE pronunciation). Based on this principle, therefore, the SED urged teacher training colleges to make "a good and acceptable standard of pronunciation...a condition of a teacher's leaving certificate" (Williamson 1982:71).

The 1970's saw hope for Scots language and literature in education when the Scottish Central Committee on English produced a report for the SED called Scottish Literature in the Secondary School. This report made recommendations about the teaching of Scottish literature (including Gaelic literature), and included references to texts and supporting materials. Very little seemed to come of this, mainly because the SED did not make these recommendations policy, instead leaving their implementation to the discretion of the individual English departments in the schools. This was justified by the SED by the claim that "not every English department would have some one qualified or sufficiently knowledgeable to be able to undertake the teaching" (Williamson 1982:79).

The inclusion of Scottish literature (ie., literature in Scots or written by Scottish authors) in the SOED 'Higher' English syllabus in the 1980's was the first official attempt to incorporate the study of Scots into the curriculum by the SOED, but these are still only options and few, if any, are actually written in Scots (though a case could be argued for Grassie Gibbon's Sunset Song). Only the most recent proposals for the teaching of Scots language and literature are receiving any real consideration from the SOED. Only now are the problems associated with teaching Scots dialect speakers about English and Scots language and literature being addressed, and only now is the SOED taking any responsibility for the fact that so few Scottish pupils "leave secondary school with even an inkling of the reasons for the complex linguistic and cultural situation they have inherited or a knowledge of their cultural heritage" (Borrowman 1979:51). As the recent Scottish Language Project Proposals (see §6.5) admit, the SED has traditionally "regarded Scots as a language of minor interest with some significant writers but all of them safely dead" (SLPP:3) (though this too denies the existence and value of the vast body of dialect literature whose writers are still very much alive).

The stance that most linguistic commentators have taken regarding the effect that the SED has had on Scots language and literature is typically to condemn it for

its treatment of Scots, as if it has been wholly responsible for its decline. For example, McClure (1975:17) claims that the 1872 Education Act was the single, most detrimental force in the devaluation of the Scots language, and Murison (1979(b):58) claims that "the Scottish Education Department and their inspectorate ...waged war on Scots from their inception in 1872". Williamson, on the other hand, is less concerned with 'blaming' the SED for the decline of Scots as he claims that anglicisation and the erosion of Scots had already started in the pre-1872 burgh schools, and that this...:

anglicisation and descotticisation in Scottish schools reflected, in effect, the linguistic mores of wider society, or rather the dominant part of it - the upper and especially the middle and professional classes (Williamson 1982:68).

Williamson goes even further by claiming that with the political and social position of Scotland in the last century (and in the future where international communication is, and will continue to be increasingly important) "it may be argued that it would have been setting Scottish children at a disadvantage" had English not been such a pertinent feature of Scottish education (Williamson 1982:80). While this might be true, so also is the fact that in encouraging the use of the English language, the study and subsequent maintenance of Scots language and literature have suffered. Teaching English

at the expense of Scots has undoubtedly had a most detrimental effect on Scots, and even if policies of this nature were merely following the example of middle class society, they eventually became legitimisation of that society's ill-feeling towards Scots. In reflecting the feelings of the middle-classes in the 1870's the SED has perpetuated the myth that the Scots language is inferior to English for so long that many people in the 1990's are ignorant of its present-day existence, even if they are themselves Scots dialect speakers (as most recent sociolinguistic studies have shown eg., Macafee (1983)). Most people are, however, aware of the Scots language as a medium for poetry written in the eighteenth century. This is probably due not only to the popularity of poets such as Burns, but also the fact that texts in Scots such as those of Burns and Robert Louis Stevenson have always been used in primary schools, although not in any systematic or consistent way. Even with exposure to these varieties of Scots, many people still fail to see that it has any association with dialect speech. Modern literature in Scots can actually worsen this problem as dialect-specific literature can have limited geographical intelligibility, and the literary language Lallans (see above at §2.1.4) can appear completely alien. As McClure 1979:93) states:

to most people in Scotland, even Scots-speakers, much of the work of the Scots Renaissance school [as well as earlier] is decidedly obscure.

There can be no doubt that the responsibility for this and the Scottish tendency towards linguistic insecurity lies largely with the education system's intolerance of dialect speech and refusal to teach Scots literature in a systematic, consistent, or large-scale way.

6.3 SCOTS AND THE TEACHER

As noted in §6.2 above, the SED's stance on Scots in education, though inconsistent, has traditionally been that it should be the domain of individual teachers with an interest in Scots. This has relegated the teaching of Scots literature to the work of the most famous writers eg., Burns, to be taught to pupils in the school years low enough to have no effect on any examinations. Without any SOED policy on the teaching of Scots literature in the higher Secondary school years, and with no policy on the teaching of Scots language, most teachers do not feel confident enough to teach Scots language at all (and in many cases teachers are unaware of its existence as an independent entity). This is illustrated by the results obtained from the Teachers' Sample of the present study, fully discussed in Chapter 7.

Much of the blame for the lack of Scots language and literature in the schools has been laid with the

teachers. For example, in the May 1975 issue of the Moray House magazine Teaching English, Forsyth claims:

teachers in the schools must recognize that Scottish literature no longer equates with a bit of Burns, a look at Scott, RLS and a quick forkful from the kailyard (Borrowman 1979:52).

This criticism of teachers' attitudes can only be said to be misguided as without the support of the SOED and training on the teaching of literature in Scots:

no wonder many Scottish teachers feel inadequately or not prepared at all to teach Scottish literature (Borrowman 1979:53).

As for the teaching of the Scots language, teachers, being products of the Scottish education system themselves, unsurprisingly perceive the Scots dialects (and particularly the urban dialects) as "an incorrect realisation of spoken English and...a breaching of the rules of English" (Williamson 1982:61). As Murison (1979(b):61) puts it:

teachers are not themselves taught to teach Scots at universities and training colleges and...they therefore..feel that they could not attempt it by themselves.

Aitken (1976:51) claims that the lack of training and knowledge about Scots devalues the service teachers can give to their pupils. He writes that "as teachers we have a duty to our pupils - and to truth - to combat such

superstitions and by no means help to perpetuate them", but acknowledges that often teachers are as ignorant of the reality of the linguistic situation in Lowland Scotland as their pupils ie., that spoken Scots is not 'bad' English, but is a group dialects of the equally credible Scots language (see §2.1.1 above).

In 1925 the secretary of the SED stated that to introduce statutory inclusion of Scots "teachers and education authorities must be convinced before the SED would act" (Williamson 1982:77), and seems to have used this argument for most of this century. This puts the inclusion of Scots in the curriculum in a Catch 22 position. The SED has refused to create policy on it until there is satisfactory pressure from the teachers, but due to the fact that since 1872 Scottish education has been very centralised, teachers and local authorities tend to take guidance directly from the SOED. Only now is the SOED taking the initiative, after years of pressure not only from teachers, but also from the Scottish associations eg., the SNDA, to advocate tolerance and respect for the Scots dialects and the teaching of Scottish literature in any systematic way (see §6.4 and §6.5 below). MacGillivray claims that training for teachers is the most important factor in including the study of Scots in education because "the contribution they can make to the cause of Scots is substantial, even

vital" (MacGillivray 1979:57). By this he is referring to the lack of status the spoken Scots dialects have, and which, he claims, can only be regained if education treats the dialects as culturally worthy.

Educating children about Scots is of paramount importance in the teaching of Scottish literature. Without an understanding of the historical and linguistic make up of the language, and its relation to the spoken dialects of today "good Scots may be as foreign to some as French or Chinese or even English" (Murison 1979(b):60). This statement is devalued by Murison's assertion that rural and literary Scots equates with 'good Scots', and that urban Scots, is 'degraded Scots'. He does, however, make a good point, and goes on to contend that because of the difficulty many people have in understanding Scots literature it should be taught "methodologically and with all the more conviction" as English literature, and that this is important "because it is part of the heritage to which children are entitled and of which circumstances have robbed them" (Murison 1979(b):60).

McClure (1979:93) too, claims that it is naive to assume that just because potential students of Scots literature are Scottish they will be able to understand the language used in Scots texts. He points out that the language of literature in Scots can appear very unfamiliar to many

people due to the regional diversity of Scots. He also acknowledges the difficulty of understanding the language used for much of the poetry of the Scots Renaissance (ie., Synthetic Scots, see §2.1.4), which is a form used exclusively for literature and, thus, has never been a feature of anybody's everyday speech. Difficulties in comprehension of Synthetic Scots are unsurprising as "a language which is the property of a small group of poets and scholars...is not a national standard" (McClure 1979:93) ie., it is not a form readily understood by all Scots-speakers. As already stated, this can be as true for other varieties of Scots literature and dialect-specific literature. In this way, the problems associated with the teaching of Scots literature in the schools can be ultimately paradoxical ie., literature in Scots is difficult to teach due to teachers' and pupils' ignorance of the language, though it is dialects of that language which are spoken by many pupils and which has long been considered 'wrong' by teachers. Therefore, how does a teacher instruct his or her pupils in Scots literature when many of the linguistic features used in it appear to be the very features he or she corrects in pupils' speech? Only extensive teacher-training can remedy this conflict.

Many commentators eg., Murison, Borrowman, claim that despite any efforts by the SOED the systematic teaching

of Scots language and literature will not be guaranteed unless it is backed up also by the Scottish Examination Board (SEB), as it remains the case that "examinations tend to determine syllabuses" (Borrowman 1979:52). Inclusion of Scots in the SOED 'Highers' and 'Standard' Grades would also ensure that the teaching of Scots is addressed, as Murison (1979(b):62) puts it,

no doubt a few compulsory Scots questions in the Highers would help to concentrate the minds of teachers wonderfully on the subject.

6.4 THE 5-14 REPORT

The 5-14 Report was published in 1991. It comprises a series of guidelines on the teaching of individual subjects to pupils aged between five and fourteen years. The two parts of the 5-14 Report which would concern the teaching of Scots language and literature, and official attitudes towards the Scots dialects are the 5-14 Report on Structure and Balance of the Curriculum (5-14 Report 1), and the 5-14 Report on the English Language (5-14 Report 2).

The 5-14 Report on Structure and Balance of the Curriculum is a broad introduction to the guidelines, and is applicable to all teachers of all subjects. On Page 1 it states that:

in the curriculum area of language, task groups were...established to provide guidance on Latin and Modern European Languages in S1 and S2, and on Gaelic 5-14 (5-14 Report 1:1).

Thus, in its first reference to language it manages to side step the issue of the spoken language of a huge number of pupils ie., a Scots dialect. Later it goes on to state that

parents, who have been the main influence on the child's development before coming to school will continue to have a major influence (5-14 Report 1:3).

Again however, this does not refer this to one of the most evident parts of a parent's influence on a child being the language that child has acquired, and in many cases this is not Scottish Standard English. Also, without explaining how, the report states that:

all pupils will develop competence in language through the medium of English (5-14 Report 1:7).

The 5-14 Report on the English Language, on first sight appears more promising. Part of the introduction states that:

children's earliest language is acquired in the home and in pre-school groups, and schools will build on that foundation.. This early language will be varied: sometimes it will be dialect and occasionally it will not be English. But it will mirror the diversity of the community the school serves and will contribute to the learning that occurs in the classroom. This language will be handled knowledgeably by teachers so as to meet individual needs, encourage confidence and make learning a pleasurable experience (5-14 Report 2:3).

These statements address the need for teachers to teach and to show respect for linguistic and cultural diversity within their classrooms, but does not provide any information on how to go about this. How can a subject be "handled knowledgeably" by teachers if they have received no training in it, and what is a teacher to understand by the term "dialect" when it remains undefined even within such a broad context as this? Throughout the report these questions are never answered, though it continues to make statements of this nature. At one point in its section on "Diversity of Language and Culture" it advocates that:

pupils should be allowed to use their mother tongue throughout the school (5-14 Report 2:59).

For many children in Scotland, however, a Scots dialect is their "mother tongue". Without training to dispel the myths about the Scots dialects being 'debased' English, many teachers will not recognize that Scots is as valid as any 'foreign' language.

Instead of any formal guidance on Scots the report has a section on "Scottish Culture" in which it makes a host of somewhat generalised statements about the value of Scottish culture, but does so without referring in any direct way to the speech of pupils or the subject of Scottish literature. For example, it states that:

It should be the central aim of Scottish schools to help their pupils understand that the common experiences, activities, history and artefacts of the people of Scotland constitute an identifiable and distinctive culture worthy of transmission and of study (5-14 Report 2:68-69).

Again, this statement manages to avoid the term 'Scots' (or 'Gaelic'), and does not include either language or literature in its list of features which can be identified as part of our "distinctive culture".

When the report does refer to dialect (which presumably means Scots dialect) it appears to consider it of value, particularly in so far as it can help to promote the significance of SSE. For example, it claims that:

far from diminishing the significance of English, an understanding of the operations of dialects will enrich the awareness of the need for a standard form of language (5-14 Report 2:69).

Again, it does not, however, define "dialect", and gives no indication of when a teacher should tolerate dialect speech and when he or she should demand "standard English" (by which, presumably, the report means SSE). In fact, throughout the report teachers are encouraged to "ensure that pupils are given opportunities to...talk in standard English and their own dialect as appropriate" (5-14 Report 2:30), but no definition of what constitutes "appropriate" is given.

Scottish literature is also treated in the same, non-specific manner. The report claims that:

the first tasks of schools are...to enable pupils to be confident and creative in this language [Scots]. This will involve teachers in valuing pupils' spoken language and introducing them to stories, poems and other texts which use dialect in a true way
(5-14 Report 2:68).

Again, with no training, and in some cases, no experience of Scottish literature, many teachers would have difficulty teaching Scots texts. In addition, the report does not define exactly what it means by the phrase "a true way". If it means that literature for study in the classroom has to be written in a dialect that has existed or does exist in the speech of some Scottish people, it excludes most of the work of the Scots Renaissance which used Synthetic Scots (see previously at §2.1.4 and §6.3), and if it means it has to be written in literary Scots, then it excludes much of the large body of modern dialect literature.

Within its "Scottish Culture" section the report does attempt to put the existing spoken dialects into context. It states that:

There is no standard form of Scots.. To help pupils, terms such as dialect and accent should be explained and used, with examples, to encourage discussion and develop perceptions of Scottish languages and how they relate to the lives and experiences of Scottish people
(5-14 Report 2:69).

It does not, however, provide the same service for the teacher, which would be advantageous for those who might have trouble explaining and using terms like "dialect" and "accent" when applied to Scots and English. As the results of the Teachers Sample in the present study attest, "Scots" is not a term which many teachers can readily define correctly (see Chapter 7). Also, not defining what is meant by "Scots" could produce real problems when the guidelines on *talking* - one of the four main areas of concern to education along with *writing*, *reading* and *listening* - are applied in the classroom, as the report never specifies whether "Scots" is considered to be a dialect of English, or a separate entity. If it is taken to mean the latter, then the attainment targets for *talking* must be far too ambitious for some pupils as one of the attainment targets for pupils who fall into the Primary 1 to 3 age groups (ie., five to seven years old), suggests that they should be able to "talk clearly and audibly to peers and class teachers" in some form of English (5-14 Report 2:14).

One of the aims of the 5-14 Report was to improve the teaching of language in Scottish schools. As a starting point its effect on the Scots language is limited due to it not applying to the education of those pupils who are at the SOED 'Standard' and 'Higher' Grades (see §6.3 above). For those pupils who fall into the age groups

under its jurisdiction it is also of limited effect as regards Scots language and literature. Without proper definition of terms such as 'Scots' and 'dialect', and with no instruction for teachers on the spoken Scots dialects, and on Scottish literature, no real improvements can be made to the education of those pupils who habitually use a Scots dialect. Most sociolinguistic studies (eg., Macafee (1984), Macaulay (1977)) show that it is the lower-classes who tend to use the Scots dialects, and have the most difficulty in maintaining the use of SSE. As this report contends that assessment is based on proficiency in the English language, the middle-classes who are more likely to be able to speak fluent SSE than the lower-classes are at a notable advantage.

One would think that on the basis of the lack of teaching of Scottish literature and the lack of understanding of the spoken dialects on the part of teachers, the disadvantage this results in for the dialect-speaking child would be apparent to spectators of the quality of education in Scotland. Indeed, quality is assured in our schools in that education is continuously being assessed on behalf of the government by Her Majesty's Inspectorate. While the conversation I had with the Staff Inspector for English will be discussed in §7, because it involves the most recent policy and official attitude towards the teaching of Scottish literature and language, it is relevant here to look to the 1992 HMI's report

Effective Learning and Teaching in Scottish Secondary Schools: English. This details the Inspectorate's findings in Scottish schools on the teaching of English. It is appropriate at this point to state that when any department of the education system in Scotland refers to Scots language or literature it comes under the domain of the generic term 'English'. This, in itself, is noteworthy as it clearly indicates that the SOED does not regard the Scots language or the spoken dialects as separate from English. As has been found in the results for the Community Sample in this study (see previously at \$4.3) as well as most other sociolinguistic studies of Scots, speakers of Scots retain, in part, their cultural and linguistic autonomy through perceiving their language as something separate and different from English, even if that perception is that it is qualitatively inferior to English. Thus, it would appear that the first conflict the education system has with speakers of Scots is that it does not consistently regard the Scots dialects or the language of Scottish literature to be separate from the English language while the speakers do. As far as the SOED appear to be concerned, while Gaelic and the modern European languages as well as the Classical languages deserve Inspectors, Advisors and Teacher Trainers in their own right, the Scots language does not, and as such

has to 'make do' with staff involved primarily with English study and instruction.

Indeed, Effective Learning and Teaching barely mentions spoken Scots. Where it does, ironically in the *listening* section and not in the *talking* section, it claims that children should be taught about appropriacy of language use and the range of "registers" available to them. It claims that pupils "should appreciate when to use standard forms of language, English and Scots, and when to use dialect" (Effective Learning and Teaching:27) (it would appear that in this statement Scots and English are separate entities). The need for education in Scotland to actively teach appropriacy of language use will be discussed in Chapter 7 (§7.6), but here it is important to point out that even if appropriacy were a subject which required formal instruction, this statement is still obscure. There is no standard form of Scots. At present that is an objective truth. Scots comes in dialect forms. Therefore, no pupil in Scotland can possibly be expected to use Standard Scots. It does not exist. The efforts of the English Inspectorate to include the acknowledgement of spoken Scots in the curriculum is, therefore, rubbished by this statement because it strongly suggests that even at the government level there is no real understanding of what Scots is.

The Inspectorate's understanding of Scottish literature is, however, apparently clearer (see also Chapter 7). While, again, there is very little written about it in Effective Learning and Teaching, it does claim that where there is teaching of Scottish literature this tends to be the teaching of twentieth century Scottish literature only and that this is "an undesirable state of affairs" (Effective Learning and Teaching:37). The report urges teachers to widen the range of Scottish literature to include writers from other centuries, but again, as the teaching of any Scottish literature at all is not compulsory this is all too easy for teachers to ignore, particularly as has been discussed in §6.3 above and will be discussed below in §7.3, many teachers feel that their own knowledge and understanding of Scots and Scottish literature is inadequate to the requirements of formally teaching it to pupils.

3.5 THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE PROJECT

The proposals for the *Scottish Language Project* (hereafter referred to as SLP) fully address the inconsistencies found in education's traditional treatment of Scots dialect speakers and Scots literature, which the 5-14 Report failed to challenge. The SLP is intended to introduce the systematic teaching of Scottish

literature (historic and contemporary) into the education curriculum. In its first paragraph the Scottish Language Project Proposals (SLPP) define what is meant by the term 'Scots' as "those indigenous dialects found in Scotland which are not the dialect called standard English and not Gaelic" (SLPP:3).

The SLP is a practical attempt to include Scots in the curriculum and provide an incisive account of the condition of the Scots language today. Unlike the 5-14 Report, the SLPP also acknowledge the complex sociolinguistic situation in operation and the role that Scottish education has had in promoting linguistic insecurity. It claims that the school's refusal to acknowledge the spoken language of many of its pupils has resulted in many pupils establishing:

barriers...reducing the ability of the schools to reach these pupils in its endeavour to promote skills, knowledge and culture awareness. Our schools have many such pupils, some of high ability (SLPP:4).

Most importantly, the SLPP address the fact that teachers and parents might be the bearers of many of the most common misconceptions about the Scots language, regarding it "as a debased form of language, and find it puzzling (or offensive) that the school is devoting time to it" (SLPP:11). For this reason the SLPP advocate extensive training for teachers, and consultation with parents,

including an explanatory leaflet on Scots language and literature.

Sensibly, the SLPP do not "deny...the centrality of the school's obligation to give pupils a command of standard English" (SLPP:5), as it rightly states that "English is a necessary channel of communication between nations" (SLPP:18). This is a particularly pertinent point in the late twentieth century as international communication, trade and employment are features of the present and future for all nations, including Scotland, and fluency in a language as internationally understood as English must be a priority in Scottish schools. The Scottish Language Project Teacher's Handbook (hereafter referred to as SLP Teacher's Handbook) states that:

An essential element...is standard English and it is essential that skills in English are sustained, promoted and enhanced. Teaching Scots, and Gaelic, can only aid that process (SLP Teacher's Handbook:4).

This latter point characterises the SLP's claim that teaching diversity and respect for language varieties in the form of the study of Scots, can also be seen as "a precursor to, or even parallel activity in, the acquisition of other languages" (SLPP:18).

The SLPP are intended as an outline and explanation of a package to be introduced into the schools. This package,

known as The Kist, will contain an anthology of Scots and Gaelic literature, a handbook for teachers, and additional materials eg., audio tapes containing recordings of texts in the anthology. The whole package is intended to be "worthwhile, elegant and pleasing to use" (SLPP:7) and be complemented by the use of audio-visual aids so that education on the literature be tackled from an appropriately modern angle. The SLPP suggest that each local authority contributes nine pages of local dialect literature to the anthology. Since these contributions have been made a specially created central group has organised the materials in order of difficulty and interest and will presently produce and distribute the completed package.

The SLP Teachers' Handbook details what The Kist is intended to achieve. It states that:

the immediate purpose of The Kist is not to teach Scots or Gaelic..but to make children more aware of the richness of language generally, to encourage a wider variety of language in the classroom, and to help children value the Scots they may use at home, with their peers, and in the community generally, and to extend its range (SLP Teacher's Handbook:1).

In this way, in principle, the SLP is both innovative and incisive in that it aims to raise the status of Scots, and value its use by allowing children the opportunity to experience Scots literature. In practice, however, this appears to be extremely ambitious especially when we take

into account the fact that the total amount of literature included in it will be only two hundred pages, and within these two hundred pages there will also be English translations of Gaelic texts. Although the schools will be encouraged to add to the anthology with "classroom materials", the amount of these is to be at the discretion of each individual school or local authority, and as the price of production of these will also be the responsibility of the school or local authority, the temptation for many could be to produce the bare minimum of supplementary texts, especially in these times of financial cut backs.

As a first step (and it must be seen as a first step) towards the implementation of statutory teaching of Scottish literature, however, the SLP is unique in that it aims to take a modern, rather than a nostalgic or sentimental approach to the teaching of Scottish literature, and, of course, it has the backing of the SOED. Support from the SOED is the most encouraging part of the *Scottish Language Project*, as for the reasons outlined in §6.1 and §6.2 above, it is the only way that myths about the Scots language can be dispelled, and the only way that both the Scots and Gaelic languages can gain status in this country. The SLPP refute this, however, by stating that:

education alone can not make it healthy... As it can but slowly erode, so it can not alone replace what is lost (SLPP:18).

In effect, this statement is denying the devastating effect education in Scotland has had on Scots in the past. It is denying the extent of the damage education has done to the status of Scots in claiming that it can only "slowly erode", when it is clear that it has played a major part in its decline in favour of SSE. Also, although it is true that education alone can not replace "what is lost", education can, in teaching the value and importance of the Scots language, bring about positive changes in the attitudes of people towards both the spoken dialects and literature in Scots, and this appears to be what the SLP aims to do.

The main problem with the teaching of Scots is that, as mentioned in §6.3 above, often teachers are as confused about the whole subject as their pupils. The SLPP acknowledge this and include guidelines on the training of teachers. As they state themselves:

authorities will agree to develop in-service based on them [Scots and Gaelic literature].. To tackle their current neglect, it will be understood that this in-service needs to be substantial (SLPP:6).

This has apparently been generally accepted as "all authorities have agreed to provide in-service around The

Kist" (SLP Teacher's Handbook:9). Upon consulting with the Staff Inspector for English and Advisors on Languages and on English it would appear, however, that this, in fact, will not be the case. As detailed in Chapter 7 there are no plans by the SOED or the local authorities to provide any special teacher training as a result of the introduction of The Kist.

Despite this, the SLP also lays emphasis on the need for assessment. This will entail assessing pupils on what they have learned as a result of working with The Kist. This is, again, a major step forward as assessment targets tend to encourage teachers to concentrate on a subject more thoroughly rather than, as one of the informants from the Teachers' Sample in the present study (see §7.4 below) claimed, "just pay lip-service to it" (Glasgow Teacher 'E'). In addition, the SLP contends that:

including Scots within the assessment process will validate the language and give it a status that can only increase the confidence of those children who naturally speak Scots and act as an enrichment for those children who do not (SLP Teacher's Handbook:13-14).

By this, the handbook really means that assessment gives Scots credibility in the minds of pupils ie., that it is a school subject of importance and significance equal to any other. This, in turn, benefits dialect-speaking

children as it confirms that their language is of value, importance and quality. Compulsory assessment in Scottish literature or language at the 5-14 or higher level is not yet policy, however. As discussed in Chapter 7 below there do appear to be moves by the SOED in that direction, but those in a position to know about them are refusing at present to say what policy on assessment will be in the near future.

The SLP respects the fact that the only way a project of this nature can be successful is if it has the support of teachers, and that they, in turn, have the support of the SOED. It claims:

the weight of the enterprise lies with the teachers and the quality of the support they are given by the regions and by national providers (SLPP:18).

This admission is the most important part of the SLPP as the only way in which to ensure that Scots language and literature take their rightful place in Scottish education is to provide teachers with the training and knowledge about the Scots language which was denied them during their years as pupils of the SED.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A SURVEY OF SCOTS IN EDUCATION: THE QUESTIONNAIRE, RESPONSES AND RESULTS

7.1 A STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE IN SCOTLAND

7.1.1 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire designed for teachers was intended to investigate the effect the SOED's 5-14 Report on the English Language has had on the teaching of the English language and Scottish literature in Scotland. It was also designed to investigate the extent to which the SOED guidelines detailed in the 5-14 Report on the English Language and the 5-14 Report on the Structure and Balance of the Curriculum (about the tolerance and respect for the Scots dialects and the vernacular of pupils) have, in fact, been implemented in the schools.

As was illustrated in Chapter 6 above, these two SOED Reports outline the need for teachers to be aware of the fact that Scots dialect, as spoken by pupils, is not in need of correction as Scots speech is not 'incorrect' or 'slovenly' English (see §6.4). The main problem with the 5-14 Report is, however, that it does not specify exactly what it means by terms such as 'Scots', 'dialect', 'Standard English' and 'non-standard'. As pointed out in Chapter 6, many teachers in Scotland may be uninformed about the Scots language and this being the case, it seems

inappropriate to assume that all teachers in Scotland will be able to instruct their pupils on the nature of language variation, and distinguish between what is to be considered the tolerable use of dialect speech and 'slang' or incorrect use of language (see §6.3). In addition, the 5-14 Report advocates that teachers, while maintaining respect for local dialects, should ensure that their pupils are fluent in Scottish Standard English, and should teach appropriacy of use of dialect and SSE ie., should teach pupils about when dialect speech is acceptable, and when SSE is the more appropriate language form. The Report also advocates a more extensive teaching of Scottish literature to pupils, and that this literature be representative not only of the local dialect of the area the school is in, but also other Scottish dialects.

In short, then, the 5-14 Reports on the English Language and on the Structure and Balance of the Curriculum outline (without any real detail) the SOED's guidelines on:

1. the teaching of SSE to all pupils in Scotland,
2. tolerance and respect for the speech of all pupils, including those for whom a Scots dialect is their "earliest language" (5-14 Report 2:3) ie., predominantly Scots dialect speakers,
3. the teaching of Scots dialect literature,
4. the teaching of appropriacy of use of a Scots dialect and SSE.

The Report does not, however, fully explain how teachers are expected to go about implementing these guidelines, or include any reference to compulsory teacher-training on any of the recommendations mentioned above.

The questionnaire for teachers used in the present study sought to establish the extent to which teachers in Scotland, themselves, feel capable of implementing the guidelines in the 5-14 Report. It also endeavoured to establish whether or not teachers feel that they require training on the teaching of Scottish literature and the tolerance of dialect speech (particularly if they are unsure of what constitutes 'acceptable' dialect speech, and what does not). Teachers were also asked what form they feel training of this nature should take.

Teachers were asked several questions about themselves and the people they teach, before the interview proper began. This was to ascertain their social grouping, and also that of the people they have taught throughout their careers. These questions are noted in the questionnaire which is presented in full below.

TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

- A. GENDER
- B. AGE GROUP
- C. SOCIAL BACKGROUND
- D. REGIONAL AREA BROUGHT UP IN
- E. REGIONAL AREA NOW TEACHING IN
- F. PRIMARY/SECONDARY TEACHER
- G. AGE GROUP OF PUPILS. IE. P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7.
S1, S2, S3.

1. What do you understand by the terms Scots and English language?
2. What is "slang" and "incorrect" language use?
NB. Are you confused about what these term really mean and what they apply to?
3. Was you speech ever corrected when you were at school?
4. Was anybody's?
5. What sort of thing was corrected?
6. Is there such a thing as Good Scots and Bad Scots?
7. What is Good Scots and what is Bad Scots? NB. URBAN/RURAL.
8. In your own words define what is meant by Scottish literature.
9. Can you name any writers of Scottish literature?
10. Were you taught any Scottish literature at school?
11. Were you taught about Scottish literature at Teacher Training College?
12. Which Teacher Training College did you attend?

13. Prior to the publication of the 5-14 Report did you ever teach any Scottish literature?
14. If yes, to what age groups?
15. Did you feel confident about the teaching of Scottish literature?
16. Have you read the 5-14 Report?
17. One of the aims of the 5-14 Report is to improve the teaching of English to children while at the same time maintaining tolerance of the local dialect. It also aims to increase the amount of Scots dialect literature to be taught to pupils, with an emphasis on its literary and cultural importance. Do you agree with these aims?
18. Why/Why not?
19. Are you, or the school you teach at attempting to implement these recommendations?
20. In what way? EG. Has there been an increase in the amount of Scottish literature to be taught? Have there been any school/departmental guidelines drawn up on the treatment of dialect speech in the school?
21. Since the publication of the 5-14 Report do you now feel more able to teach Scottish literature?
22. Since the publication of the 5-14 Report do you now feel more confident about displaying and teaching tolerance of the Scots dialects and diversity of spoken language?
23. If so, why? If not, why not?
24. What do you think would assist you in the teaching of Scottish literature and/or tolerance and respect for local dialects?

25. Do you agree with the teaching of grammar?
26. Can you give an example of a sentence which is grammatically incorrect?
27. If I said to you that there is, in fact, no correct form of grammar and no incorrect form, would you still say that you agree with the teaching of grammar?
28. If no, why not?
If yes, do you now feel less strongly about correcting pupils' grammar when they use what you consider to be bad grammar?
29. As the SOED appears to be committed to improving the amount and standard of Scottish literature taught in the schools, do you feel you have received adequate training on this topic that you can therefore teach it knowledgeably and confidently?
30. Do you feel that you would benefit from a (more) exhaustive training programme on the teaching of Scottish literature?
31. Do you feel that you would benefit from a (more) comprehensive training programme about what is really meant by the terms Scots and English and the linguistic difference between them (and the linguistic reasons for these) before you could feel confident about advocating and teaching tolerance and respect for Scots dialect as it is spoken by pupils?
32. Would you benefit from training or information on the teaching of English language to dialect speakers, and appropriacy - in terms of use and context - of different speech varieties for dialect speakers?

NOTES

1. The questionnaire will be treated as a list of prompts for the interviewer so that it can flow like a conversation. If questions are answered during the conversation they will be omitted as formal questions in their own right.
2. Questions will be expanded on if the interviewee is unsure what it is really asking.

7.1.2 THE INFORMANTS

A total of ten teachers was interviewed. This sample is admittedly small as it was intended only as a supplement to the larger sociolinguistic study detailed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in order to ascertain the extent to which teachers, as products of the Scottish education system themselves, are responsible for perpetuating the myth that Scots dialect is in some way inferior to SSE. As the questionnaire is primarily concerned with the effect of the SOED's 5-14 Report on the English Language all of the teachers involved are either Primary-school teachers, or teachers of English to pupils aged under 14 years old (ie., in years S1, S2 and S3) in a Secondary-school. In an attempt to represent these teachers best, of the ten interviewed eight are Primary-school teachers and two are Secondary-school teachers.

As the sociolinguistic investigation detailed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 was concerned with linguistic variation in Edinburgh and Glasgow, all of the teachers involved in this section of the study are employed in either Glasgow or Edinburgh. It was felt that this was most appropriate as results from the teachers' sample and the community sample could then be compared and contrasted, and as such give a

fuller understanding of how the sociolinguistic situation in Glasgow and Edinburgh is exhibited, and the role (if any) that the education system has had in confirming common social notions about language diversity and language use in these two cities.

As the sample is small it was considered important that the teachers who were interviewed were broadly representative of the 'type' of teacher found in Scottish schools. That is to say, teachers from a variety of backgrounds were interviewed. Therefore, although all of the teachers are at present employed in schools in either Edinburgh or Glasgow, only seven of them are originally from either Glasgow or Edinburgh. The remaining three teachers are originally from England, Pitlochry and Auchinleck respectively. In this way, the opinions of teachers from England, the Gaelic community (as this teacher's first language is Gaelic and he is involved in the promotion of Gaelic in Scotland) and a Scots dialect speaking region other than Glasgow or Edinburgh were represented. This was considered important because a child is not necessarily taught by a teacher who has been brought up in the same regional area and, therefore, can have a different experience of language from him/her. This is especially true in large, urban areas such as Glasgow and Edinburgh.

The ten teachers also represent a variety of social-class backgrounds as, roughly speaking, five of them are from what can be considered middle-class backgrounds, and five of them are from what can be considered working-class backgrounds (though it is likely that this was the higher socio-economic end of the working-class spectrum).

Any results obtained from this questionnaire refer only to the teaching of pupils aged between five and fourteen years, (though both of the Secondary-school English teachers also teach pupils of a higher age group).

7.2 AWARENESS OF SCOTS AND ENGLISH

Question 1. What do you understand by the terms Scots and English language?

Question 2. What is 'slang' and 'incorrect' language use? Are you confused about what these terms really mean and what they apply to?

Questions 1 and 2 were asked in order to establish the extent to which teachers are aware of the fact that Scots and English are separate entities, and whether or not teachers, generally, are aware that there is a difference between Scots and 'incorrect' language.

Seven of the ten teachers questioned were unable to define correctly the terms 'Scots' and 'English', and explain how they differ. Nine out of the ten were also unable to correctly define the terms 'slang' and 'incorrect language use' as there appears to be a large amount of confusion of these terms with Scots linguistic features. For example Edinburgh teacher 'M' claims that slang is "just a local usage of a word", and Glasgow teacher 'E' claims that it has to do with the "pronunciation of words". Neither of these explanations define slang, and both of them can be applied equally to the Scots dialects.

When asked if there exists confusion about the difference between the terms 'Scots', 'English', 'slang' and 'incorrect language', seven out of the ten said that there does. Interestingly this seven also includes the one teacher who was able to define correctly the four terms. This particular teacher was, admittedly, more informed than the others as he has a background in Gaelic linguistics and a specific interest in the development of the languages of Scotland, but when asked about being confused he still claimed that teachers are unsure about what is Scots and is therefore acceptable, and what is slang or incorrect and is, thus, in need of correction.

Therefore, we can see that only one teacher in this sample was able to define correctly the four terms mentioned above. This being the case we can assume that despite what the remaining nine teachers said about being confused, their inability to define the terms shows that they are somewhat ignorant, or at least confused, about the difference between Scots speech, slang and incorrect language use. As the one teacher who could define the four terms also claimed to be confused this number is brought up to ten. Thus, one hundred percent of the teachers in this sample are unsure of the differences between 'Scots', 'English', 'slang' and 'incorrect language'. It would appear that the area that causes most confusion is the difference between Scots and slang. The 5-14 Report states that "Slang will be a term used in the discussion of diversity within spoken language" (5-14 Report 2:35), but it would appear that this is an impossible task for most teachers in Scotland to correctly carry out, as they seem to be as uninformed about slang and Scots as their pupils. This being the case, the teachers interviewed for the present study are, on their own admission, apprehensive about correcting their pupils' speech, and unsure that what they do correct is, in fact, 'wrong'. As Glasgow teacher 'E' admits:

..not pronouncing T's, not finishing words properly, that kind of thing, and I do correct them on that. I don't know if I should or not.

As this illustrates, while the 5-14 Report emphasises the need for teachers to tolerate and even encourage the use of the local dialects it does not actually give the teacher any information about what constitutes dialect speech, and without this information teachers, as the results for this section attest, are at a loss as to what they should be correcting and what they should not. It is worth pointing out at this stage that the teachers questioned in this sample are interested in the spoken language of their pupils, and, in general, feel that it is important to value their pupils' language. As Glasgow teacher 'R' illustrates when she talks about the speech of her Castlemilk pupils:

Its a dialect but it must be appreciated and you've no right at any time to criticise a child.

This teacher is referring to the language use of her Castlemilk pupils, a language variety which she does not consider to be Scots. In fact, people in Castlemilk tend to speak Glasgow dialect, which is indisputably Scots despite the contention of some linguists eg., Murison (1977), that it is a debased form of Scots. Either way, this teacher's attitude towards the language of her pupils and her lack of knowledge about the actual form of that language reinforces

the contention that what is needed in Scottish schools is information and training for teachers on Scots. This is only now being addressed by the Scottish Language Project (see §6.5 above) which includes proposals for teacher-training on Scottish literature. The results for this section of the questionnaire show that as far as the advocating and teaching of tolerance and respect for the local dialects is concerned it is not the will which is lacking in teachers in Lowland Scotland, but the way.

Question 3. Was your speech ever corrected when you were at school?

Question 4. Was anyone's?

Question 5. What sort of thing was corrected?

Questions 3 to 5 were asked in order to investigate the extent to which teachers, being products of the Scottish education system themselves, had experienced the traditional practice of correcting the speech of school-children to SSE in all circumstances. These questions also sought to establish the extent to which teachers' notions of 'correct' and 'incorrect' speech are learnt as a result of the indoctrination they received as pupils in Scotland. In other words, what is really being examined here is the extent to which the education system's traditional attitude

towards the Scots and English languages has become self-perpetuating.

The results for Question 3 were somewhat different in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Four of the Edinburgh teachers claimed that their speech had been corrected by teachers when they were pupils, while only two of the five Glasgow teachers said the same (one of the teachers from Edinburgh was not Scottish and had been educated in England where her speech had not been corrected). This is interesting as the results for the same question in the community sample show that there was no significant difference between those in Edinburgh and Glasgow who claimed that their speech had been corrected at school. The results for the question included in the community sample questionnaire which asked informants if their speech had been corrected by their parents did show, however, that more Edinburgh informants had been corrected than Glasgow informants (see previously at §4.4.1). One possible explanation for this could be that while Glasgow dialect is perceived as inferior to SSE (as well as other Scots dialects), it is actually perceived as a Scots dialect (see §4.1 and §4.3 above). It would appear that this is not the case in Edinburgh, where it seems that all non-standard language forms are considered 'incorrect' or slang rather than

dialectal, and as such are corrected more often in Edinburgh than in Glasgow.

When asked Question 5 ie., "What sort of thing was corrected?", the six teachers who claimed that they had been corrected gave a variety of responses which includes grammar, pronunciation and choice of lexis, and the examples given include linguistic features which can be said to be characteristic of Scots dialect eg., aye for yes. When we compare this to the results for the same question for the community sample (see §4.4.1 above) we can see that the same sorts of responses were obtained there. In this way, it seems that Scots linguistic features have been treated as 'incorrect' alternatives to English by the schools, and as the results for this teacher's sample show, this belief is perpetuated by teachers who were corrected as pupils by their teachers a generation before them.

<p>Question 6. Is there such a thing as Good Scots and Bad Scots?</p>
--

Question 6 was asked to investigate the attitudes of teachers towards Scots. Even if teachers had claimed to be unsure of what is meant by the term 'Scots', they were asked to hazard a guess as to what they believe to constitute 'Good' Scots, and 'Bad' Scots.

The results for this question were expected to show that teachers, like many others in Scotland (as well as elsewhere), are more likely to consider 'Good Scots' to be those dialects spoken by people in rural areas of 'Lowland' Scotland, or the language used in the past, and 'Bad Scots' to be those dialects spoken in urban areas (see previously at §2.1).

Five of the ten teachers questioned claimed that there are such things as 'Good Scots' and 'Bad Scots', and one of these teachers did claim that 'Good Scots' tends to be that spoken in rural areas while 'Bad Scots' is "Glasgow dialect". Apart from this, the responses to this question are somewhat alarming. For example two out of the three teachers from Edinburgh who claimed that there is such a thing as 'Good Scots' and 'Bad Scots' gave the lexical items *ken*, *dinna* and *hame* as examples of 'Bad Scots'. This is rather disturbing as the first two of these items are words which are indigenous features of several Scots dialects (including Edinburgh dialect), and the third is a straightforward Scots pronunciation of SSE *home* (see above at §2.1.1 and §5.2.1). Presumably teachers are of the opinion that Bad Scots is in need of correction more than Good Scots, but the responses to this question show that where a teacher does feel that there is a Good/Bad

distinction, he or she can be quite mistaken about what could be considered Bad Scots. Again, this prompts us to look at the 5-14 Report on the English Language which urges teachers to "value the language children bring to school" (5-14 Report 2:59), but does not explain the content or nature of the Scots dialects ie., the language most Scottish children bring to school. Only when teachers are given information and training on the spoken dialects of Lowland Scotland will they be able to implement fully the 5-14 recommendations, as at the moment with no real knowledge about the language teachers are merely grappling in the dark when it comes to the subject of tolerance of dialect speech and the teaching of the diversity of language use, no matter how well-intentioned they are.

7.3 AWARENESS AND UNDERSTANDING OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE

Question 8. In your own words define what is meant by Scottish literature.

Question 9. Can you name any writers of Scottish literature?

Questions 8 and 9 were asked to investigate whether or not teachers are familiar with the concept of Scottish literature as separate and different from English

literature. It was expected that all teachers would be able to define 'Scottish literature', and name the most famous writers.

The results for these questions are surprisingly positive. All ten of the teachers were able to define Scottish literature as separate and distinguishable from English literature, and all ten were able to name writers of Scottish literature. In fact, the range of writers of Scottish literature given was broad. While eight of the ten teachers gave Robert Burns as an example, they also gave a variety of other writers too. These ranged from Henryson and Dunbar to Liz Lochhead, and included writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson, Hugh MacDiarmid and J.K. Annand.

These results show that there seems to be little question that the teachers in this sample are familiar with Scottish literature. What the following questions sought to establish, however, is whether or not this familiarity with Scottish literature is as a result of the education they received themselves, and whether or not these teachers are familiar enough with Scottish literature to be able to teach it to their pupils knowledgeably and confidently.

Question 10. Were you taught any Scottish literature at school?

Question 11. Were you taught about Scottish literature at Teacher Training College?

Question 12. Which Teacher Training College did you attend?

Questions 10 to 12 were designed to investigate the amount of Scottish literature teachers themselves have been exposed to through education, both from their days as pupils in the schools, and as trainee teachers.

The results for Question 10 show that only five of the ten teachers questioned had experienced Scottish literature at school (**NB.** one teacher is English and so would not be expected to have been taught about Scottish literature at either school or Teacher Training College). Of these five, two claimed that the only Scottish literature they had been exposed to through the school was some Burns poetry at Primary school. In fact, the one teacher who claimed that he had been taught a large amount of Scots dialect literature at Secondary school as well as Primary school was Edinburgh teacher 'S' who was educated in Pitlochry which is part of the Gaelteachd and has never been a Scots-dialect-speaking area.

Again, the results obtained for Question 11 were depressing. Only one teacher claimed to have received any training on the teaching of Scottish literature and this was only because she had taken it as an optional course at Moray House Teacher Training College. The remaining nine teachers (one of whom admittedly attended a Teacher Training College in England) had received no training at all on Scottish literature. This is a reflection of the reality that teachers in Scotland are not generally taught about Scottish literature at Teacher Training College, and this being the case it seems that the 5-14 Report's call for literature "including Scottish material" (5-14 Report 2:39) to be taught to all pupils in the 5-14 age group is entirely unreasonable. It also reinforces the argument that the Scottish Language Project will not achieve its main aim (ie., the inclusion of Scots dialect literature in the school curriculum) unless it includes training for teachers. Quite rightly, the Scottish Language Project acknowledges this need for training and information, but it is unlikely that training will actually be provided by the local authorities (see §6.6 above).

Question 13. Prior to the publication of the 5-14 Report did you ever teach any Scottish literature?

Question 14. If yes, to what age groups?

Question 15. Did you feel confident about the teaching of Scottish literature?

Questions 13 to 15 were asked to investigate whether or not teachers felt confident about the teaching of Scottish literature to pupils **before** the publication of the 5 to 14 Report, and whether or not they actually taught it. The results from these questions will be compared to the questions detailed in §7.4 below which asked the informants about the teaching of Scottish literature **after** consulting the 5-14 Report.

All of the teachers questioned claimed that they had taught Scottish literature prior to the publication of the 5-14 guidelines. It has to be stated, however, that most of these teachers, particularly those who are Primary school teachers, admitted that any Scottish literature that they did teach is usually centred around Burns night as a topic about Scotland generally, and includes little more than the most famous of Burns' poetry.

When asked if they were confident about the teaching of Scottish literature before the publication of the 5-14 Report nine of the ten teachers said that they were not. The one teacher who claimed that she was confident about the teaching of it qualified her answer by saying that she was confident about the teaching of literature so long as it was written in the local dialect (ie., Glasgow dialect), but was not as happy to teach literature in dialects other than this. Again, the reason for this general lack of confidence amongst teachers is undoubtedly to do with the fact that they have received little or no formal teaching on Scots themselves. Neither the 5-14 Report nor the Scottish Language Project can realistically expect teachers to be able to teach Scottish literature if they are unsure themselves of the meanings of words etc.. The problem does not seem to lie with lack of interest of teachers, as the results from this study show that familiarity of teachers with Scottish literature is not a problem. What does seem to be the biggest obstacle to the teaching of Scottish literature is the lack of training and support received by the teachers and the schools.

7.4 THE EFFECT OF THE 5-14 REPORT ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Question 16. Have you read the 5-14 Report?

Question 17. One of the aims of the 5-14 report is to improve the teaching of English to children while at the same time maintaining tolerance of the local dialect. It also aims to increase the amount of Scots-dialect-literature to be taught to pupils, with an emphasis on its literary and cultural importance. Do you agree with these aims?

Question 18. Why? / Why not?

Questions 16 to 18 were designed to establish teachers' general feelings towards the issues raised by the 5-14 Report. It was believed to be important to identify whether or not teachers, generally, agree with the recommendations in principle.

All of the teachers questioned had read the 5-14 Report on the English Language, and all said that they agree with the aims of it. The results obtained for this study show that the teachers are well-intentioned and willing to implement any Scots language orientated recommendations, but feel that they cannot do so because of their general ignorance about these concepts themselves. As Glasgow teacher 'E' says of the 5-14 Report:

Basically we're given it and told to read that and

its vague, there's no guidelines, there's no courses on it and I don't see how we should be better at teaching [Scots-language].

Question 19. Are you or the school you teach at attempting to implement these recommendations?

Question 20. In what way? EG. Has there been an increase in the amount of Scottish literature to be taught? Have there been any school/departmental guidelines drawn up on the treatment of dialect speech in the school?

Questions 19 and 20 asked the teachers about whether or not the recommendations about the teaching of Scottish literature and the treatment of the Scots language are actually being implemented in the schools as, for these proposals to have any effect on the pupils they are aimed at, the individual schools will have to have some sort of policy on how to go about including them in their curricula.

Only one of the teachers interviewed stated that there had been any changes made in school policy as a result of the 5-14 recommendations on the Scots language. Four of the teachers, on the other hand, claimed to have attempted, as individuals, to implement the 5-14 recommendations. On the subject of the tolerance of dialect speech in the classroom, the majority of the teachers asked said that the

5-14 Report had justified what they were doing already. In this way, these teachers were claiming that they tend not to correct the speech of their pupils anyway, and that the 5-14 Report, rather than tell them anything new, had merely justified what they were doing already. These teachers felt that this was a positive feature of the 5-14 Report as many teachers feel that any variety of spoken Scots should not be tolerated in the schools (though no attitude like this was recorded in this study). This should be very beneficial to the status of Scots. As Edinburgh teacher 'S' illustrates:

Well the only change since 5-14 is that I can fully justify what I'm doing and I can actually try and persuade other people by saying to them - because I'm a depute now I'm in a position of being able to say to people 'well I think you should include that in your forward plan because 5-14 says that you should be valuing or encouraging children's home language and that you should be making an effort to find a Scottish dimension in what you're doing'

Questions 21 and 22 asked teachers to comment on how successful the 5-14 Report has been in increasing awareness and understanding of the Scots language and Scottish literature. They are discussed individually, and both questions were followed with Question 23, a probing question which asks the informant to expand on the reasons for the answers to Question 21 and Question 22.

Question 21. Since the publication of the 5-14 Report do you now feel more able to teach Scottish literature?

Question 22. Since the publication of the 5-14 Report do you now feel more confident about displaying and teaching tolerance of the Scots dialects and diversity of spoken language?

All ten of the teachers questioned said that they do not feel any more confident about the teaching of Scottish literature. As the results for Question 15 show (see §7.3 above) only one teacher felt confident about the teaching of Scottish literature prior to the 5-14 Report, and the one who said she did claimed that this confidence only applied if the literature was written in Glasgow dialect. As such it is undoubtedly the case that the 5-14 Report has done nothing at all for Scottish literature, and this is because of the fact that, as Glasgow teacher 'D' states:

it gives you things to do..but it doesn't give you any assistance...There's a big difference between giving you aims and achieving.

This general lack of information about the teaching of Scottish literature is only now being remedied by the Scottish Language Project (see §6.5 above).

The results for Question 22 are slightly more promising as three of the ten teachers claimed that they feel more

confident about tolerating and advocating respect for the spoken dialects. Though this is still a relatively small number, it does show that the one thing that the 5-14 Report has done is to introduce the concept of Scots as something which is not incorrect or inferior to English in some way. As Edinburgh teacher 'M' points out as she qualifies the fact that she does feel more confident about the tolerance of dialect speech since the 5-14 Report, "I think its made it more - more of an issue". In this way, the 5-14 Report has, for teachers, raised the issue of spoken Scots (for the first time in some cases). It is, however, important to remember that while this particular teacher feels that the 5-14 Report has raised the issue of Scots, and as a result she feels more confident about advocating tolerance of Scots speech she is also one of those who believes that words such as *ken* and *dinny* are 'Bad Scots'. This illustrates that even if the 5-14 Report has raised the profile of spoken Scots, it has done nothing to inform teachers about the nature and make-up of the Scots dialects. Until teachers are informed about this they will continue to correct what are essentially Scots linguistic features. As this teacher 'M' states, "Its really confusing isn't it?"

Question 24. What do you think would assist you in the teaching of Scottish literature and/or tolerance and respect for local dialects?

Question 24 was included in order to ask teachers directly to comment on what they feel would improve their attempts to implement the teaching of Scottish literature and tolerance of dialect. It was felt that a teacher's own opinion on what is necessary for a programme of the type outlined in the 5-14 Report would be most interesting as it would reveal the areas which teachers feel least confident about, and as such, have most concern about teaching adequately.

Seven of the teachers in this sample said that they would like to receive training on Scots. In this way, it would appear that the teachers themselves are aware of the need for training in order to help make good their lack of knowledge about Scots generally, and as such, it would seem that they would be appreciative of any training proposed by the Scottish Language Project (see §6.5 above). Four of the ten teachers also said that in order to teach Scottish literature more extensively they would require more resources in the form of actual texts and back-up materials. Again, this is an area which the Scottish Language Project aims to address. With the introduction of

The Kist (the package intended for introduction into the schools by the Scottish Language Project, as detailed in §6.5) the number of texts which are both relevant and suitable for use in the classroom will be substantially increased.

The Scottish Language Project's proposals to include in The Kist audio tape recordings of all of the literature in the anthology will also be of great benefit. Two of the teachers in the present study, including the teacher who is originally from England, claimed that one of the major difficulties which they found in the teaching of Scottish literature was their own inability to pronounce the language used in the texts. This is a valid point as there is no reason to assume that teachers, even if they are Scots dialect speakers themselves, will be able to pronounce every dialect of Lowland Scotland, or even know the meanings of many lexical items and other idioms without the aid of a dictionary. While translations of any 'unfamiliar' words will be provided, it is undoubtedly the case that the best way to experience dialect literature is when it is presented to its audience in the form in which it is intended and this can be best achieved by using tape recordings of texts using the appropriate dialect. While this will be of benefit to all teachers, it is of most

importance to those who are not themselves Scottish, and thus are less familiar with the Scots language generally.

7.5 SCOTS GRAMMAR

While the sociolinguistic investigation detailed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 shows that most people in Edinburgh and Glasgow are aware of the fact that Scots pronunciation and Scots lexis are commonly confused with 'incorrect' English and slang, there appears to be far less confusion about the use of non-standard grammar. The results from the community sample suggest that if a sentence involves non-standard grammar, it is generally believed that that sentence (or at least its grammatical construction) is wrong (see previously at §5.3). In reality, the difference between Standard and non-standard syntax is as complicated as the difference between Standard and non-standard pronunciation or lexis. Non-standard grammar is, thus, not 'incorrect' or 'bad' grammar, but rather is just indicative of Non-standard speech in the same way as any other Non-standard linguistic form is. In the case of those from 'Lowland' Scotland this non-standard form is usually a Scots dialect. In this way, then, teachers can be as guilty of undermining the validity of a Scots dialect by correcting the grammar of its speakers as they can be by correcting a dialect

speaker's pronunciation and vocabulary. Unfortunately, most people seem to be of the opinion that there is a correct grammar and an incorrect grammar, and that the latter is to be corrected to the former in all circumstances. This belief is enhanced by the fact that there is no mention of Scots (or otherwise Non-standard) grammar in any SOED guidelines.

Questions 25 and 26, therefore, asked the teachers to make statements about what they consider to be 'incorrect' or 'correct' grammar in order to establish the extent to which these very firm beliefs are held by those who are expected to teach tolerance of dialect speech.

Question 25. Do you agree with the practice of correcting pupils' grammar?

Question 26. Can you give an example of a sentence which is grammatically incorrect?

Seven of the ten teachers in this sample claimed that they do correct what they consider to be 'incorrect' grammar in the speech of their pupils. While this number is high, the suspicion is that it is still under-represents the general consensus of teachers throughout Scotland. Eight of the ten teachers stated that there is such a thing as incorrect

grammar (though, as mentioned, one of these teachers claimed never to actually correct it in her pupils). When asked to give an example of a sentence which is grammatically incorrect seven of these eight teachers offered *I done* as an incorrect construction which should be corrected to *I did*. This shows that this use of the past participle of the verb *do* rather than the past tense is a most marked feature of Scottish speech and one which is considered to be 'wrong'. This is the case for a number of irregular verbs including *to see* and *to write*, *I seen* and *I have saw* being familiar features of Scottish speech, as is *I have wrote* (see previously at §2.1.1). These types of construction appear, on the strength of the results obtained in this study, to constitute markers in Scottish speech (see above at §3.1). This statement is supported by the results for the syntax section of the community sample (at §5.3.5 above), where all but five of the sixty-four informants corrected *I seen* to *I saw*.

The results for this teachers sample, however, are most worrying as there is, as already stated, no such thing as incorrect grammar. Thus, constructions like *I done* and *I seen* are features of Scots dialect speech, and are as valid as Scots pronunciations, lexis and morphology. Given that eighty percent of the teachers in this sample stated that

grammar of this type is incorrect, it would seem that one of the areas in which training and information are most necessary is in that which concerns the linguistic features that constitute the make up of a Scots dialect. It needs to be stressed emphatically to teachers that 'dialect feature', particularly in relation to syntax, does not equate with 'incorrect language'. In order for Scots dialect to be allowed to gain status the people of Lowland Scotland, and particularly their teachers, must be informed about the fact that there is more to Scots than just a few pronunciation and lexical differences from SSE.

Questions 27 and 28 move on from the general questions about grammar and explain to the informant that there is, in fact, no such thing as 'wrong' syntax when it is a common feature of a person's speech. Question 27 was asked only if the answer to Question 25 was "yes". The wording of Question 27 was not always exactly as it is below, but as the tapes evidence, the general point was always made. The wording tended to vary according to the formality of the interview as it was felt that the less aggressive the question, the more fruitful it would be. The intention was to extract information on attitudes towards Scots grammar, not to alienate the informants by appearing to have a

superior understanding of a subject he or she has been teaching for years.

Question 27. If I said to you that there is, in fact, no correct form of grammar and no incorrect form, would you still say that you agree with the teaching of grammar?

Question 28a. If yes, why? If no, why not?

b. If yes, do you now feel less strongly about the practice of correcting pupils' speech when they use what you consider to be bad grammar, (particularly when these grammatical constructions are commonly associated with Scots dialects).

In practice, Questions 27 and 28 were rarely asked at all. The first couple of interviews showed that this type of questioning was too aggressive and made both the interviewer and the interviewee uncomfortable as the questions were too confrontational. As stated in §3.1 one of the main objectives of this research was to obtain as much honest information as possible, and the best way to achieve this was to interview informants as informally as possible and not to appear intimidating. The contention is that the more intimidated an informant is the less likely he or she is to give unbiased responses. Therefore, as the answers to Question 25 were able to elicit whether or not a teacher believed that 'incorrect' grammar exists, and the answers to Question 26 allowed the teachers to give an example of what they consider to be incorrect grammar it

was felt that any answers to Questions 27 and 28 would achieve little and as such were not important enough to risk jeopardising the rest of the interview. The point is that teachers do not have the information outlined in Question 27, and are thus not in a position to know whether or not they should be correcting the grammar of their pupils' speech. Again, the only way in which this ignorance about Scots syntax can be made good is to inform teachers and give them training on the structure and make-up of the Scots language.

7.6 TEACHERS' SUGGESTIONS ABOUT TEACHING SCOTTISH LITERATURE AND TOLERANCE OF SCOTS DIALECTS

Question 29. As the SOED appears to be committed to improving the amount and standard of Scottish literature taught in the schools, do you feel you have received adequate training on this topic so that you can, therefore teach it knowledgeably and confidently?

Question 30. Do you feel that you would benefit from a (more) exhaustive training programme on the teaching of Scottish literature?

Questions 29 and 30 asked teachers about their feelings about the training they have received on the teaching of Scottish literature, and about what they believe would be of assistance in that teaching.

All ten of the teachers in this sample stated that they feel that they have not received adequate training on the teaching of Scottish literature. Similarly, all ten of the teachers said that they feel that they would benefit from more (or any) training in order that they could then teach Scottish literature knowledgeably and confidently. In this way these results show that the need for an initiative such as the Scottish Language Project, which proposes training for teachers, will not only be welcomed by teachers in Lowland Scotland, but is also long overdue.

Question 31. Do you feel that you would benefit from a (more) comprehensive training programme what is really meant by the terms 'Scots' and 'English' language and the linguistic difference between them (and the historical linguistic reasons for these) before you could feel confident about advocating and teaching tolerance and respect for Scots dialect as it is spoken by pupils?

Question 31 was designed to establish whether or not teachers feel that they require instruction on the teaching of tolerance of language diversity, and what exactly they are to advocate tolerance of.

Eight of the ten teachers in this sample claimed that they would like to receive more training about the Scots dialects in order that they can feel more confident about

displaying and advocating tolerance and respect for them as they are spoken by pupils. Interestingly, the two teachers who claimed that they do not require any training on this subject are both from Glasgow, and are themselves native Glaswegians. Although the results for this sample show that training (or at least information) is, in fact, necessary for all teachers (especially on the subject of non-standard grammar, see §7.5 above), these two teachers may feel that they do not require training on the spoken dialects because they feel that they are familiar enough with their local dialect. Glasgow dialect, as noted throughout this study, is very well-known, and is, in some cases, the source of considerable pride for the speakers. While neither of the teachers in question displayed the use of a strong Glasgow dialect, it is possible that they perceive themselves as displaying loyalty and identity to Glasgow through their speech, and consider it to be a positive identity marker in their pupils. This, of course, is just a theory, and either way, it does not detract from the fact that none of the teachers in this sample are au fait enough with the concept of Scots dialect speech that they would not benefit from training or information about it. What is important is that eighty percent of these teachers are aware of this and feel that in order to carry out the 5-14 Report's guidelines on the tolerance and respect for local dialect speech they

require information about what the term 'Scots dialect' actually refers to.

Question 32. Would you benefit from training or information on the teaching of English language to dialect speakers and appropriacy - in terms of use and context - of different speech varieties (ie., dialect or English) for dialect speakers?

Question 32 was designed to establish whether or not teachers feel confident about teaching SSE to dialect speakers (one of the main features of the teaching of English in Scotland) and whether or not they have a full understanding of what is meant by 'appropriacy' of language use. 'Appropriacy' refers to the practice of modifying one's speech to suit the situation. In this way it is like stylistic variation (see §1.3), but is more conscious ie., it is the conscious decision to adapt or accommodate one's speech to an appropriate variety defined by circumstances. This can be more difficult for a habitual Scots dialect speaker than a SSE speaker because the Scots speaker must learn fluency in an English language speech variety.

The results obtained for this question are interesting. All of the teachers questioned are aware of the need for appropriacy in use of a Scots dialect and SSE (ie., no matter how well-intentioned the education system becomes,

the reality for Scots speakers in the employment market is that fluency in some form of Standard English is required for economic advancement in the international community, see §6.5). In addition, all of the teachers questioned are aware of the fact that pupils have, at least, some knowledge of Standard English and display this when they modify their speech when talking to those in a position of authority, including the teacher him/herself. Despite this, however, the results about further training on the teaching of appropriacy of use differ significantly between Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Four of the five teachers from Edinburgh claimed that they would require training on appropriacy of use of dialect and SSE, while only one of the Glasgow teachers said the same. It would appear that while those teachers in Edinburgh are aware of the fact that stylistic variation occurs, they still feel that they do not have enough information about, or understand fully, why or how it occurs. As Edinburgh teacher 'J' states, "It might be helpful to hear the line on it - what is appropriate, where as you can get by". The comments of other teachers, most notably those from Glasgow, are entirely different. Four of the Glasgow teachers and one of the Edinburgh teachers feel very strongly that the teaching of appropriacy of use of

language does nothing for the status of Scots. As Edinburgh teacher 'S' illustrates:

..the idea of teaching appropriacy is a spurious argument that's brought up by people who do not want dialect forms valued or used - so they invent the idea that you have to consciously sit down with a child and tell them, or teach them, or instruct them in which variety is appropriate to use at particular times. You don't..and I don't think anywhere else in the world do people get taught that one is deliberately more important. I think they just learn from the context. They do it naturally...I think the whole idea that there is some problem or difficulty that needs specific instruction is an argument from the anti-camp which is a debating ground that they've created which you shouldn't enter or even discuss...I mean very young children know that already...nursery children ..never ever use as strong a dialect form with strangers ..as they would with their parents. When I go into the nursery they speak differently from when I see them in the playground because they've got this automatic thing - stranger - so you speak differently..So I think the whole thing is just invented.

This supports the research of linguists such as Reid (1978) and Romaine (1975), ie., that Scottish children learn, as part of their language acquisition (or soon afterwards), how to modify their speech towards the Standard form (which they have learnt at least passively through T.V. radio etc.). Thus, a child who habitually speaks a Scots dialect will tend to modify that speech towards SSE when addressing a teacher, social worker etc., and has learnt to do this, in the experience of the teachers in this sample at least, before they have reached school-age. While this study does not aim to investigate this claim it does appear that

formal training on the teaching of appropriacy of use is unnecessary as in the words of Glasgow teacher 'S', "it comes as second nature anyway".

The concerns of several of the teachers who claimed that they would like training in appropriacy of use in order to understand it better cannot, however, be ignored. What the results for this study show overall is that information on sociolinguistic theory is required by teachers, and until they have that information they will not be able to adequately teach tolerance and respect for language differentiation, social or regional, as they will not themselves understand how and why it happens. Ignorance breeds prejudice, and this is especially true when applied to languages as anything else. Unless teachers are informed about Scots and English and the fact that there is no 'correct' or 'incorrect', 'superior' or 'inferior' form the status of the Scots dialects in Lowland Scotland will remain low and will have no hope of improving. The Scottish Language Project, though its main focus is on Scottish literature, will go some way to opening up the issue of the Scots language in the schools. Any increase for the status of Scots will, however, have to come from connecting the language found in the literature to that which is spoken in Lowland Scotland, and this can only occur in any real way

if the SOED build on the momentum of the Scottish Language Project and ensure that Scots language based initiatives of this type do not become a transient feature of 1990's Scottish education.

7.7 CONSULTATION WITH ADVISORS AND AN INSPECTOR FOR THE STUDY OF SCOTS AND EDUCATION

7.7.1 THE INFORMANTS

As part of the study of Scottish education's treatment of the Scots language and Scottish literature, it was decided that it would be appropriate to speak with the individuals (other than teachers) in official education positions concerning these subjects. The informants were the Staff Inspector for English, HMI Mr.Spenser, and two members of the Quality Assurance Division of Lothian Region (formerly known as the Advisory Service in Education), Mr.Reid and Mr.Campbell.

Mr.Reid is the Assistant Advisor on Languages for Lothian Region and Mr.Campbell is the Advisor on English for the same. Mr.Campbell is responsible for providing in-service courses on English (and, thus, also Scots) teaching. He provides these courses himself and has no other member of the Quality Assurance Division to assist him in this. Thus, Mr.Campbell is responsible for providing training

courses and advice to all Secondary School English teachers and all Primary School teachers in Lothian Region's schools. This training and advice must cover the subject 'English' which is taught to pupils from Primary 1 to the SCE 'Higher' and Sixth Year Studies (SYS) years. Therefore, Mr.Campbell provides guidance to teachers on the implementation of the 5-14 Report and the SCE 'Standard' grade, 'Higher' and SYS syllabuses. Needless to say, he is a busy man. Before joining the Quality Assurance Division he was an English teacher and is, himself, from England. He had received no formal training on Scots language or Scottish literature himself.

Mr.Reid provides advice and training to teachers in Lothian Region an all modern European languages taught in Scottish schools, the Classical languages, Scots and Gaelic. He has one colleague with whom he shares this workload, which, again, covers the entire range of Scottish pupils ie., from age five (though he has also done some Nursery School work) to age eighteen years. As regards Scots, Mr.Reid is mainly responsible for Primary School training and advice for teachers. He was a Secondary School Classics teacher before joining the Quality Assurance Division and has had no formal training in Scots language, Scottish literature, or, indeed, English. He is aware of this in that he claims that "I...undertake to do things that I wasn't necessarily

qualified in but I would read them up and do them...So I wound up doing Scots". In order to offer courses on Scots Mr.Reid has been in contact with the Scots Language Resource Centre (SLRC) who have provided him with references and contacts from which to obtain resources and materials with which to teach teachers about Scots language and, primarily, Scottish literature.

HMI Mr.Spenser works directly for the SOED. He is responsible, along with nine others, for inspecting a percentage of all Primary Schools and Secondary School English departments throughout Scotland every year. He has had a little formal training on the teaching of Scottish literature when he was a student at Jordanhill Teacher Training College in the late 1960's, but no training on Scots. Along with his nine colleagues he is responsible for ensuring that the 5-14 Guidelines on the English Language and policies on the teaching of SCE Standard-grade, Higher and SYS English are being implemented properly in the schools. As regards Scots, he is in contact with the SLRC, the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum (SCCC), and other Scots associations which, along with other purposes, provide resources and materials for education eg., Scotsoun.

7.7.2 THE QUESTIONS

There was no formal questionnaire created for the interviews with the Inspector or the Advisors in the belief that they would be able to talk freely and at length on education's treatment of Scots language and Scottish literature. This was indeed the case as concerns Scottish literature, but there appeared some confusion over what exactly is meant by terms such as 'Scots dialects' and 'spoken Scots'. When pushed all three informants were able to talk about Scots language and the treatment of Scots dialect speech in the schools, but the impression was that they were all quoting from the 5-14 Report on the English Language and were as confused about what really constitutes dialect speech, what requires tolerance and respect and what does not, etc. as the teachers have been shown to be earlier in this chapter. This will be discussed in detail in §7.7.4.

7.7.3 THE TEACHING OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE

The Advisors and the Inspector are aware that the teaching of Scottish literature is not compulsory in Scottish schools. Both Mr.Campbell and Mr.Reid claim that they have, in the past, provided courses on the teaching of Scottish literature. They both claim to make full use of the resources available to them and as such had

introduced teachers to anthologies of Scottish literature that they might not otherwise have come across eg., Gleg, a package provided by Scotsoun for use with children aged five to ten years. The courses these men have provided have, of course, been entirely optional. They have also been sporadic. With such a heavy schedule it is hard to hold Mr.Reid or Mr.Campbell responsible for the patchy nature of the provision of training on Scots for teachers. It does not appear to be as a result of lack of interest in the subject on the part of either the Advisors or the teachers who, as Mr.Reid claims "want to know more, they want to be kept in touch with developments, they want to see The Kist". It would appear that the only reason more courses are not available is that the Advisors' workloads are unrealistic in terms of providing comprehensive, or even adequate, support for teachers in all of the subjects designated to them as Advisors. As Mr. Reid states, "we're in great difficulty manning what we're supposed to do".

With these considerations in mind, the Advisors are aware that even when they do manage to provide courses on Scottish literature, the optional, non-compulsory nature of them means that only teachers with a specific interest in Scots or Scottish literature are inclined to attend. HMI Mr.Spenser is also aware of this, claiming that even with vastly increased availability of resources from the

Scots associations and the SCCC, the teaching of Scottish literature remains "the domain of enthusiasts" rather than part of the curriculum proper. Nevertheless, Mr. Spenser claims that:

the Secondary Schools...for quite a long time have been fairly heavily committed, most of them, to studying at least some Scottish literature...In the vast majority of schools they're going to study at least a few pieces of significant, usually modern, Scottish literature.

He even goes on to claim that he is "fairly optimistic about the range of Scottish literature that has been taken on by the Secondary Schools without compulsion". That being the case we are left with a discrepancy. In the Community Sample of this study only two of the sixty-four informants could remember studying Scottish literature at Secondary School (see §4.4.2 above). We must take into account here the fact that memories are not always absolute, and that Mr. Spenser uses the phrase "for quite a long time" which is extremely nonspecific, but could suggest that the informants in this study's Community Sample are all too old now to have felt any affect of this "commitment" to the study of Scottish literature. One would think, though, that the youngest age group in the Community Sample - who would have been at school during the 1980's when some Scottish literature became set texts for the SCE 'Higher' - would have, as a direct result of this, experienced some Scottish literature at Secondary School level. It appears,

however, that they did not, and we must, therefore, assume that any real increase in the teaching of Scottish literature to Secondary School pupils is either more recent than this study observes or that it is perceived only by teachers, Advisors and Inspectors of education.

Either way, the future does appear to look encouraging, as with the introduction of The Kist (see §6.5 above), more Scottish set texts in the SCE 'Standard' grade and 'Higher' English examinations, and more availability of resources comes a rise in the profile and interest in the teaching of Scottish literature. Without compulsion it may, however, be a transient rise in interest which occurs, though this too could be remedied if the Association for Scottish Literary Studies' (ASLS) recent proposal that there should be an obligatory element of Scottish literature in the SCE 'Higher' English examination is successful. The Advisors and the Inspector were also all quite positive about making Scottish literature compulsory at some level of Secondary education: as HMI Mr.Spenser states:

it is important that that [ie., Scottish literature] be part of the curriculum.

7.7.4 SCOTS DIALECT SPEECH AND ITS TREATMENT BY EDUCATION

As stated in §7.7.2, when questioned about the teaching and advocating of respect and tolerance of dialect speech in the schools, the Advisors and the Inspector were all suspiciously reticent. When pressed to give some sort of statement on this topic all three of these informants claimed that the 5-14 Guidelines clearly state that a child's first language should be valued, regardless of what that first language is. This, like the 5-14 Report itself is pretty vague (see §6.4 above), and no amount of questioning could make any of these three informants be more specific. To illustrate this, excerpts from the transcriptions of the interviews with Mr.Reid (referred to as 'G') and HMI Mr.Spenser (referred to as 'E') follow. The interviewer is referred to as 'L'.

- L Do teachers believe that working-class Scots dialects are incorrect English?
- G No, not so much now as there would have been thirty years ago. People are much more prepared to accept the language that the children bring to school.
- L Why is that?
- G The theory has changed.

L Is the spoken dialect of say, Drumchapel acceptable?

E Everything is acceptable in its place.

L What is its place?

E It depends on the context and the purpose and the audience and the appropriateness...It is quite firmly part of our policy that they [the pupils] should be taught about the plurality of language, about dialect, about the richness of their own dialect and of others in Scotland.

As is shown, therefore, these informants tended to make vague, 5-14 Report-types of statements about education's treatment of dialect speech. Neither of the Advisors offered courses on this topic to teachers and neither the Advisors nor the Inspector offered any real explanation of what they mean by terms such as "the language children bring to school" and "richness of dialect". Instead, all three of these informants tended to side-step the issue by talking about appropriacy of language use and availability of different linguistic registers. As shown in §7.6, teachers tend to feel that appropriacy of language use is not a concept which needs to be taught to Scots, or, indeed, SSE-speaking pupils in any systematic way as code-drifting and style-shifting are, commonly, established features of the linguistic behaviour of Scottish people even before they reach school-age (as noted by, for example, Romaine (1975)).

It would appear that those in positions of senior authority in education are as at a loss about Scots

dialects and what the SOED means by "tolerance of dialect speech and what that applies to as the teachers have been shown to be in §7.2. This is most alarming when we consider the fact that it is these very people who assist in the creation of guidelines such as the 5-14 Report and Effective Learning and Teaching in the Scottish Secondary School. Despite any confusion concerning the tolerance and respect for dialect speech, however, HMI Mr. Spenser was, to give him his credit, at pains to point out that, "if what you're asking is do we crack down on dialect speech then the answer's no". He does, however, go on to talk about the importance of appropriacy and claims that it is important that children understand that there "are formal and informal [linguistic] systems". We can only assume that by this he means that for formal purposes SSE is most appropriate and, therefore, dialect speech is relegated to being used for informal purposes only. Either way, the comments of those who one would think would be in a position to know about the realities of language use in Lowland Scotland ie., the Inspector, advisors and teachers, are as subject as any lay-person to Milroy and Milroy's comment that "public discussion of the 'Standard English' issue in schools has been less reflective and less well informed about language than it ought to be" (Milroy & Milroy 1985:53).

7.7.5 THE QUESTION OF TRAINING FOR TEACHERS ON SCOTS

This chapter has shown that despite the lack of clear and succinct guidelines, and despite a lack of compulsion to teach Scottish literature and advocate tolerance and respect for dialect speech, teachers' interest in Scots language and literature appears to be increasing. This can probably be credited to the 5-14 Report on the English Language as even though it is vague and does not specify exactly what it means by contentious terms such as 'dialect' and 'slang' (see §6.4), it has raised the whole issue of valuing the language of the pupils in Scottish schools, be that language English, Scots or something else. Most teachers seem to have a vague idea of what is meant by 'dialect' (though as shown earlier in this chapter that can often be extremely misguided), but they appear to want further clarification and guidance in order that they can knowledgeably and confidently advocate tolerance of the Scots dialects as recommended by the 5-14 Report. This demand for clarification and further support is a justifiable one, and one which HMI Mr. Spenser also claims to believe in. He points out that:

there doesn't exist...much or any good material at teacher-training level for teachers on Scots...I know that the SLRC...have had in mind for some time a project to produce staff development for teaching and I think that would be a good thing, you know, something formal.

In essence, therefore, Mr. Spenser, as an Inspector is aware of the fact that until there are some formal, detailed guidelines and training on Scots only vague understandings about the treatment of dialect speech in the schools by the teachers can be achieved (though he is of the opinion that the 5-14 Report is not at all vague). This is true also of the teaching of Scottish literature, as has been already discussed in §7.3 above. Teachers, like the pupils they are trying to teach, can encounter problems of comprehension, translation and pronunciation when they do attempt to teach Scottish literature.

With more and more resources becoming available to teachers and with the official SOED statements about the value education must place on the spoken dialects of 'Lowland' Scotland in order that they be given the opportunity to rise in status and profile to the advantage of Scottish people, the future looks promising. This optimism cannot, however, be sustained or justified unless proper, systematic training for teachers on the Scots dialects and the difference between Scots, English and slang, and training on the teaching of Scottish literature are properly and compulsorily implemented. Only then will the teaching of the Scots language and its literature be carried out with conviction and competence by fully informed teachers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie, D. 1979 'The accents of Standard English in Scotland' in Aitken & McArthur (eds) *Languages of Scotland* 68-85 (Edinburgh: Chambers).
- Agutter, A. 1979 *The Linguistic Significance of Current British Slang* (PhD thesis: University of Edinburgh, unpublished).
- Agutter, A. & Cowan, L. 1981 'Changes in the Vocabulary of Lowland Scots Dialects' in *Scottish Literary Journal Supplement No.14* pp.49-62.
- Aitken, A.J. 1976 'The Scots language and the teacher of English in Scotland' in *Scottish Literature in the Secondary School* pp.48-55 (Edinburgh: Scottish Central Committee on English) .
- Aitken, A.J. 1979 'Scottish speech: a historical view with special reference to the Standard English of Scotland' in Aitken and McArthur (eds) *Languages of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Chambers).
- Aitken, A.J. 1984(a) 'Scottish accents and dialects' in Trudgill (ed) *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Aitken, A.J. 1984(b) 'Scots and English in Scotland' in Trudgill (ed) *Language in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Appelbaum, S. 1991 (ed) *Robert Burns: Poems and Songs* (New York: Dover Publications Inc).
- Bernstein, B. 1960 'Language and Social Class' in *British Journal of Sociology II*.
- Blom, J.P. & 1972 Gumperz, J. 'Social meaning in linguistic structures: code switching in Norway' in Gumperz and Hymes (eds) *Directions in Sociolinguistics* pp.407-434 (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston).
- Borrowman, L. 1979 'Scots in Education' in *Chapman Scots Language and Literature Vol.5 Nos.5-6* pp.51-54 (Edinburgh: Chapman Publications).
- Bourhis, R. & 1977 Giles, H. 'The language of intergroup distinctiveness' in Giles(ed) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relation* (London: Academic Press).
- Brown, P. & 1978 Levinson, S. 'Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena' in Goody(ed) *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction* pp.56-289 (Cambridge).
- Catford, J.C. 1957 'The Linguistic Survey of Scotland' in *Orbis VI*.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|--|
| Chambers, J.K. | 1995 | <i>Sociolinguistic Theory</i>
(Oxford: Blackwell Ltd.). |
| Cheshire, J. | 1982 | <i>Variation in an English Dialect</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). |
| Cheshire, J. | 1984 | 'Indigenous Non-standard English varieties and education' in Trudgill (ed) <i>Language in the British Isles</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). |
| Coates, J. | 1993 | <i>Women, Men and Language</i> (New York: Longman Publishing). |
| Craigie et al.
(eds) | 1931-
? | <i>A Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue</i> (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press). |
| Davis, L.M. | 1990 | <i>Statistics in Dialectology</i> (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press). |
| Devitt, A. | 1989 | <i>Standardizing Written English: Diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520-1659</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). |
| Edwards J. &
Giles, H. | 1984 | 'Applications of the social psychology of language: sociolinguistics and education' in Trudgill (ed) <i>Applied Sociolinguistics</i> (Academic Press). |
| Fischer, J.R. | 1958 | 'Social Influences on the choice of a Linguistic Variant' in <i>Word</i> 14. |

- Flower, J. 1971 *The Auld Symie: Poems by Jake Flower* (Preston: Akros Publications).
- Giles, H. 1973 'Accent mobility: a model and some data' in *Anthropological Linguistics* 15.
- Giles, H. & Powesland, P.F. 1975 *Speech Style and Social Evaluation* (London & New York: Academic Press).
- Granovetter, M. 1982 'The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited' in Marsden & Lin (eds) *Social Structure and Network Analysis* (London: Sage).
- Grant W. & Murison, D. (eds) 1931-? *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Scottish National Dictionary Association).
- Gumperz, J. 1964 'Linguistic and social interaction in two communities' in *American Anthropologist* 60.
- Jensen, A.R. 1980 *Bias in Mental Testing* (London: Methuen).
- Johnston, P. 1985 'The rise and fall of the Morningside / Kelvinside Accent' in Gorlach (ed) *Focus on Scotland* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company).
- Jones, C. 1993 'Scottish Standard English in the Late Eighteenth Century' in *Transactions of the Philological Society* Vol.91 No.1 (Oxford: Blackwell).

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|--|
| Jones, M. &
West, A. (eds) | 1988 | <i>Learning Me Your Language:
Perspectives on the Teaching
of English</i> (London: Mary
Glasgow Publications Ltd). |
| Kane, A. | 1987 | <i>But the Memory Lingers On</i>
(Paisley: James Paton Ltd). |
| Kay, B. | 1986 | <i>Scots The Mither Tongue</i>
(London: Grafton Books). |
| Kerswill, P. | 1987 | 'Levels of linguistic
variation in Durham' in
<i>Journal of Linguistics</i> 23. |
| King, E. (ed) | 1983 | <i>Barrapatter: An oral history
of Glasgow's Barrows</i>
(Glasgow: Friends of the
People's Palace). |
| Labov, W. | 1963 | 'The social motivation of a
sound change' in <i>Word</i> 19
pp.273-309. |
| Labov, W. | 1966 | <i>The Social Stratification of
English in New York City</i>
(Washington DC: Centre for
Applied Linguistics). |
| Labov, W. | 1969 | 'The Logic of Non-standard
English' reprinted in
Giglioli(ed) <i>Language and
Social Context</i>
(Harmondsworth:Penguin). |
| Labov, W. | 1972(a) | <i>Sociolinguistic Patterns</i>
(Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania
University Press). |
| Labov, W. | 1972(b) | <i>Language in the Inner City</i>
(Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania
University Press). |

- Lass, R. 1987 *The Shape of English: Structure and History* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd).
- Leonard, T. (ed) 1990 *Radical Renfrew* (Edinburgh: Polygon).
- Levine, L. & Crockett H. 1967 'Speech Variation in a Piedmont Community: postvocalic r' in *Explorations in Sociolinguistics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- Low, J.T. 1974 'Scots in education: the contemporary situation' in McClure (ed) *The Scots Language In Education* Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Occasional Papers 3 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).
- Macafee, C. 1983 *Glasgow: Varieties of English Around the World* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company).
- Macafee, C. 1987 'Language and Modern Life: Notes from Glasgow' in Macafee and MacLeod (eds) *The Nuttis Schell* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).
- Macafee, C. 1994 *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World: A Glasgow Case Study* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
- Macaulay, R.K.S. 1975 'Negative Prestige, Linguistic Insecurity, and Linguistic Self-Hatred' in *Lingua* 36.

- Macaulay, R.K.S. 1977 *Language Social Class and Education: A Glasgow Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Macaulay, R.K.S. 1991 *Locating Dialect in Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- MacGillivray, A. 1979 'Scots in the colleges of education' in *Chapman Scots Language and Literature* Vol.5 No.5-6 pp.55-57 (Edinburgh: Chapman Publications).
- Mather, J. 1973 'The Scots we speak today' in Aitken (ed) *Lowland Scots Association for Scottish Literary Studies Occasional Papers* No.2 pp.56-68 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Mather J. & Speital, H.H. 1975-1977 *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (London: Croom Helm).
- McArthur, A. & Kingsley Long, H. 1956 *No Mean City* (London: Neville Spearman Ltd).
- McClure, D. 1979 'The Concept of Standard Scots' in *Chapman Scots Language and Literature* Vol.5 Nos.5-6 pp.90-99 (Edinburgh: Chapman Publications).
- McClure, D. 1988 *Why Scots Matters* (Saltire).
- McHardy, S. 1993 'I speak therefore A'm ur' in *The Herald* 28/4/93.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------|---|
| McIntosh, A. | 1952 | <i>An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects</i> (Edinburgh: Thos. Nelson & Sons Ltd). |
| Menzies, J. | 1991 | 'An Investigation of Attitudes to Scots and Glasgow Dialect among Secondary School Pupils' in <i>Scottish Language</i> 10 pp30-46. |
| Miller, J. | 1993 | 'The Grammar of Scottish English' in Milroy & Milroy (eds) <i>Real English: The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles</i> (New York: Longman). |
| Milroy, J. | 1981 | <i>Regional Accents of English: Belfast</i> (Belfast: Blackstaff Press). |
| Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. | 1985 | <i>Authority in Language: Investigating language prescription and standardisation</i> (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul). |
| Milroy, L. | 1980 | <i>Language and Social Networks</i> (Oxford: Blackwell). |
| Milroy, L. | 1987 | <i>Observing and Analysing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method</i> (Oxford: Blackwell). |
| Mitchell, J.C. | 1973 | 'Networks, norms and institutions' in Boissevain & Mitchell (eds) <i>Network Analysis Studies in Human Interaction</i> (The Hague: Mouton). |

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--|
| Murison, D. | 1977 | <i>The Guid Scots Tongue</i>
(Edinburgh: Blackwood). |
| Murison, D. | 1979(a) | 'The historical background'
in Aitken and McArthur (eds)
<i>Languages of Scotland</i>
Edinburgh Chambers. |
| Murison, D. | 1979(b) | 'The Future of Scots' in
<i>Chapman Scots Language and Literature</i> Vol.5 Nos.5-6
pp.58-62 (Edinburgh: Chapman
Publications). |
| Patrick, J. | 1973 | <i>A Glasgow Gang Observed</i>
(London: Eyre Methuen). |
| Price, G. | 1984 | 'Scots' in <i>The Languages of Britain</i> (London: Edward
Arnold). |
| Pride, J.B. &
Holmes, S.(eds) | 1972 | <i>Sociolinguistics</i> (Aylesbury:
Penguin). |
| Purves, D. | 1994 | <i>Lallans No. 42 Whitsuntid</i>
(Edinburgh: The Scots
Language Society). |
| Reah, K. | 1982 | 'The Labovian Interview: A
Reappraisal' in <i>Lore and Language</i> No.3:7 pp.1-13. |
| Reid, E. | 1978 | 'Social and stylistic
variation in the speech of
children: some evidence from
Edinburgh' in Trudgill (ed)
<i>Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English</i> pp.158-171
(London: Arnold). |
| Robinson, M.
(ed) | 1985 | <i>The Concise Scots Dictionary</i>
(Aberdeen: Aberdeen
University Press). |

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| Romaine, S. | 1975 | <i>Linguistic Variability in the Speech of some Edinburgh Schoolchildren</i> (M.Litt thesis: University of Edinburgh unpublished). |
| Romaine, S.
(ed) | 1982 | <i>Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities</i> (London: Edward Arnold). |
| Romaine, S. &
Dorian, N. | 1981 | 'Scotland as a linguistic area' in <i>The Scottish Literary Journal Supplement</i> No.14 pp.1-24. |
| Sandred, K.I. | 1983 | <i>Good or Bad Scots? Attitudes to Optional Lexical and Grammatical Usages in Edinburgh</i> (Upsala: Acta University). |
| Sankoff, G. | 1974 | 'A quantitative paradigm for the study of communicative competence' in Bauman & Sherzer (eds) <i>Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). |
| Sapir, E. | 1949 | <i>Culture, Language and Personality</i> (California: California University Press). |
| Scottish Office
Education
Department 1. | 1993 | <i>National Guidelines: Structure and Balance of the Curriculum 5 - 14</i> (Edinburgh: SCCC) June 1993. |
| Scottish Office
Education
Department 2. | 1991 | <i>National Guidelines: English Language 5 - 14</i> (Edinburgh: SCCC) June 1991. |

- Scottish Office 1992
Education
Department 3. *Effective Learning and Teaching in the Secondary School: English: A Report by HM Inspectors of Schools* (Edinburgh: SCCC).
- Scottish Language 1993
Project Proposals. *Scottish Language Project Proposals* (Edinburgh: SCCC).
- SLP Teacher's 1995
Handbook. *Teachers' Handbook* Draft 5, (Edinburgh: SCCC) 25th Jan.
- Templeton, J. 1973 'Scots: An Outline History' in Aitken (ed) *Lowland Scots Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Occasional Papers No.2* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Thomas, B. 1989 'Differences of sex and sects: linguistic variation and social networks in a Welsh mining village' in Coates & Cameron (eds) *Women in their Speech Communities* (London: Longman).
- Trudgill, P. 1972 'Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich' in *Language in Society* 1 pp.179-195.
- Trudgill, P. 1974(a) *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Trudgill, P. 1974(b) 'Sociolinguistics and Scots dialects' in McClure (ed) *The Scots Language in Education Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Occasional Papers No 3.* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|------|---|
| Trudgill, P. | 1975 | <i>Accent, Dialect and the School: Explorations in Language Study</i> (London: Edward Arnold). |
| Trudgill, P. | 1983 | <i>Sociolinguistics</i> (2nd ed) (Harmondsworth: Penguin). |
| Trudgill, P. | 1986 | <i>Dialects in Contact</i> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd). |
| Trudgill, P. | 1994 | <i>Dialects</i> (London: Routledge). |
| Trudgill, P. & Hannah, J. | 1985 | <i>International English: A guide to varieties of Standard English</i> (London: Edward Arnold). |
| Warwick, D. & Linineger, C. | 1975 | <i>The Sample Survey: theory and practice</i> (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc). |
| Wells, J.C: | 1982 | <i>Accents of English 1: An Introduction</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. |
| Williamson, K. | 1982 | 'Lowland Scots in Education: An Historical Survey Part I' in <i>Scottish Language</i> No.1 pp.54-77. |
| Williamson, K. | 1983 | 'Lowland scots in Education: An Historical Survey Part II' in <i>Scottish Language</i> No.2 pp.52-87. |